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HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

Marble Statue found in the Grounds of the Conservatorium delle Mendicanti (Vatican).

HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE.

BY

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AND COMPILED AND ARRANGED BY KELLY & CO.

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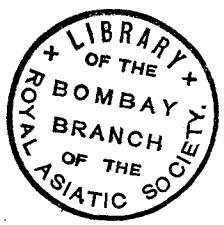
VOLUME V.—PART I.

(HADRIAN, ANTONINUS, MARCUS AURELIUS; MANNERS AND CUSTOMS UNDER THE EMPIRE.)

WITH 216 WOOD ENGRAVINGS, 1 MAP, AND 1 PLAN.



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CHAPTER LXXX.

HADRIAN (117-138 A.D.).

I.—Beginning of his Reign; Fortification of the Frontiers.

HADRIAN, the cousin and ward of Trajan,[1] had been carefully brought up according to the best ideas then held respecting education, perhaps at Athens, where he showed such a strong taste for the literature of Greece that he gained the name of "the little Greek." It is even supposed that Plutarch was his master. Naturally inquisitive, he wished to learn everything: medicine and arithmetic, geometry and music, judicial astrology and the secrets of the Eleusinian mysteries.[2] He studied all the current philosophic systems, even that of Epictetus, for whom he had a liking, though without following his precepts; he also painted pictures, chiselled statues, and composed both verse and prose; but it is probable that his painting was on a par with his poetry,[3] of which a few specimens have come down to us. His varied studies had not given him, as regards literature, a sound judgment; he preferred Antimachus to Homer, Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Virgil, although he consulted, as a trustworthy oracle, the Virgilian *sortes;* and one might almost have feared from his showing so false a taste in literature, that he would not have a just judgment in politics, were we not aware of the fact that great writers are often poor statesmen, and that Richelieu placed Chapelain above Corneille.

[1] Publius Ælius Hadrianus. His family, originally from the country of the Picentini, was of Italica, in Spain; but he was born at Rome, 24th January, 76. His mother belonged to Cadiz, and his grandfather, Marcellinus, was the first of that house who wore the senatorial laticlave. The inscriptions always write *Hadrianus* and not *Adrianus.*

[2] *Curiositatum omnium explorator,* says Tertullian. "He was fond of flute players, laughed at the buffooneries of mimes, baited the hook, and was assiduous at the palæstra" (Fronto, *ad M. Ant. de fer. Als.,* 3). *Eleusinia sacra . . . suscepit* (Spart., *Hadr.,* 13).

[3] *. . . de suis dilectis multa versibus composuit, amatoria carmina scripsit . . . cum professoribus et philosophis, libris vel carminibus invicem editis, sæpe certavit* (Spart., *Hadr.,* 14–15).

Without any solid proofs for the charge, he has been universally reproached for his vanity and his jealousy of superior men—defects in a prince which must prevent his doing anything great, and yet we shall see that Hadrian did great things. What is more certain is that, while of doubtful taste in respect of literature, he possessed all the military qualities that a prince can employ in times of peace, for, as emperor, he had no occasion to show them in war; and he governed well, since the Empire was indebted to him for twenty-one years of prosperity. In person he was tall and well made, with an intelligent and mild countenance. Like Francis I., he introduced the fashion of letting his beard grow to hide the scars on his face. So, when in a collection of the busts of the emperors one has studied this original face, which does not seem to belong to the race of the Cæsars, we quite expect to find a new history in his reign. His head is bent as if to understand better, his eyes of marble, whose look is yet so penetrating, his half-open lips, which seem to breathe—represent a man whose wish is that nothing should escape his vigilance or his curiosity. His cotemporaries were struck, just as we are, with this strange physiognomy; and, in order to set forth gnostic doctrines, which at that time found an entrance into many minds and into all religions, the unknown author of a book long famous in the East[1] concocted a conversation between the prince who desired to know everything and the philosopher who professed to reveal everything.

He ascended through all the successive grades of office, was vigintivir, legionary tribune, quæstor (101), an office which admitted him to the senate, tribune of the people, prætor, legionary legate, and finally consul a few months before reaching the legal age.[2] He followed Trajan in all his expeditions, and in them proved himself hardened against fatigue, brave in danger, but, besides, invincible at table, which was another way of gaining favour

[1] The *Sentences* of Secundus. Cf. the *Mémoire* of M. Revillout, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1872, p. 256.

[2] This is the ordinary *cursus honorum*. The list of his titles is more complete in the inscription of the *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 550, which was found in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens. Mommsen suggests the following dates: for the tribunate, 105; for the prætorship, probably 107; for the legateship of Lower Pannonia, the beginning of 108. His first consulship has been fixed, by means of a military diploma recently discovered, in the year 108, that is, when Hadrian was still only thirty-two years of age, and the rule required that he should have been thirty-three; Trajan was thirty-eight when he received the fasces.

with the prince.[1] Charged with the command of the legions of Pannonia, he imposed on the Sarmatæ respect for his name, on the soldiers respect for discipline, on the officers of the treasury moderation.

Trajan had given to him in marriage Sabina, daughter of Matidia and grand-daughter of his sister Marciana, an alliance which brought his ward closer still to the supreme power, since he was now Trajan's nephew. After some successes in the second Dacian war, Trajan had sent him the ring set with diamonds which he had himself received from Nerva at the time of his adoption, and put him in a position to do honour to the offices with which he invested him: his liberal gifts, for example, enabled Hadrian to give magnificent games to the people during his prætorship. In short, relying on his ability as a writer as much as on his political skill, he charged him with the drawing up of the *imperial speeches* pronounced before the senate, and which up to that time had been composed by Licinius Sura. These favours were more than promises. A second consulate and the government of Syria strengthened Hadrian's hopes, who, moreover, counted on the empress, whose affection for him aided his fortunes and at the last moment decided them. It is pretended that Plotina had extorted from the emperor just before death the adoption of his nephew; others even believed that this adoption had never taken place, and the father of the historian Dion Cassius, who was governor of Cilicia under Marcus Aurelius, related to his son that the letters addressed by Plotina to the senate, to inform it of the choice of the new prince, were forged. A man, it is said, placed in Trajan's bed, had, behind the hangings and in the gloom, muttered in a dying voice that he had adopted Hadrian as son and successor.

The mediocre minds whom we have now to consult to give us information on the history of this period take pleasure in seeking trivial causes for great events. So this governor seems to me to have picked up, fifty years after the event, in the small talk of a remote province, a rumour invented for the sake of the many lovers of wonderful stories. But this story, like so many

[1] "He kept his seat well at table at sumptuous dinners" (Fronto, *ibid.*).

others set afloat by a system of calumny, cannot prevail against probability. Trajan felt it his duty to leave the Empire to him whom, in his confidential conversations, he had pointed out as his successor. The confidant of all his thoughts, Licinius Sura, well knew this, and repeated the secret, and Trajan, in order to facilitate the accession of his nephew to the principate, had beforehand shown disfavour to those who had the power to oppose it, among others two senators, Palma and Celsus, whom we shall presently see conspiring against the new emperor. After Sura's death, Hadrian was in the whole Empire the man most closely connected to Trajan by consanguinity, by the honours with which he had been invested, by the powers which had besides been conferred on him, together with the command of the largest army and the most important province. To select another successor after having awakened so many hopes and delegated so much power, would have been to declare a civil war, and we have no right to impute this fault to Trajan. The reason why the decree of adoption written at Selinus had not been drawn up at Antioch was, that Trajan had a strong dislike, so long as he did not despair of his own strength, to seem to need, like Nerva, a younger colleague to put down seditions. Besides, being desirous, up to the last moment, of treating the senate considerately, he had wished to proclaim his heir only in that assembly, whither he was returning when death stopped him. As regards the idea that, in neglecting to name his heir, Trajan proposed to imitate Alexander, without having, like him, the excuse of youth, which gave long hopes to the Macedonian hero—this is another puerility foreign to so strong a mind.[2] The delay in regulating the succession to the imperial throne was

Coin commemorative of Hadrian's Adoption.[1]

[1] Trajan and Hadrian shaking hands; reverse side of a denarius. (Cohen, No. 52.)

[2] It has also been said that the maternal affection of the staid Plotina for Hadrian arose ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς φιλίας (Dion, lxix. 1 and 10). Against this charge are the age of Plotina, her reputation attested by Pliny (*sanctissima femina*), by medals (cf. Franke, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–34, and Cohen, vol. ii. p. 90), by Dion himself, who forgets in lxix. 1, what he has said in lxviii. 5: Καὶ οὕτω γε ἑαυτὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς διήγαγεν, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἐπηγορίαν σχεῖν; lastly, by the author of the *Epitome*, xlii., who, two centuries later, honoured her as the worthy consort of Trajan. The date of her birth is unknown, but it is known that she had been married to Trajan long before his accession; she died in 129. Vopiscus (*Aur.*, 14) recounting the different adoptions made by the emperors, cites that of Hadrian by Trajan.

not the less a misfortune, for the powerful conspiracy which threatened Hadrian as soon as the year 119 arose from the manner in which he seemed to glide into power, in secret and by the instrumentality of a woman, instead of entering upon it with bold mien, presented by the proud emperor to the senate, the people, and the army.

Hadrian learned at Antioch the death of his uncle from a despatch which preceded by two days the official courier: a circumstance quite comprehensible, without any occasion for supposing a mystery (August 9th and 11th, 117). Thus he had time to be quite prepared for a success, in other respects certain. His procedure was very simple: to the soldiers he promised a double *donativum*, to the senators he addressed an exceedingly modest letter. The former were no more capable of resisting the money than the latter were the fair words, backed by seven legions: each got his share and felt satisfied.

Hadrian had lived in camps a long time. Was he going to continue the warlike reign of his predecessor? Nothing of the kind: Augustus once more succeeded Cæsar, a genius for administration to one for conquests. In fact, whilst the golden urn which contained the remains of the hero was being solemnly conveyed to Rome, and whilst the senate was voting the apotheosis of the deceased prince, a temple, and Parthian games, Hadrian abandoned the countries which Trajan had thought to conquer by merely crossing them. Of the four provinces recently formed in the East—Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Arabia—he kept but one, the last, because it was out of the reach of the Parthians. It showed wisdom to withdraw the Roman eagles behind the Euphrates and on that side to resume the ancient frontier; but it was a mistake to give up making Armenia an impregnable barrier, which this country would have been, in the hands of the Romans, for the Oriental provinces. Armenia returned into that state of uncertain independence which had always been its relation to the two empires which surrounded it.

Hadrian has been accused of having tried, by this conduct, to tarnish his predecessor's glory; yet so strong a conviction existed of the emptiness of the last expeditions that not a murmur was raised against the new policy; and when he re-entered Rome, in

the middle of the year 118, he was received with the customary acclamations. The senate even wished him to celebrate in his own name the triumph voted to his predecessor. He refused this double act of injustice, and the statue of Trajan was carried in triumph to the temple of Jupiter; this was even too much, since there had been in the Parthian war no lasting successes. As regards the Jewish insurrection, in Cyprus, on the banks of the Nile, and at Cyrene, Hadrian had quelled the last remains of it; but this success was nothing more than a large measure of police—the repression of outbreaks which on the spot seemed formidable, but of which no one even made mention at Rome.

Double Congiarium given by Hadrian.[1]

The soldiers had received their *donativum*, the people theirs: at first three pieces of gold (£3), and after the conspiracy of Nigrinus a double *congiarium*. Italy was exempted from furnishing the *aurum coronarium;* the provinces gave only one part of it; and the treasury did not demand the arrears which had been due for sixteen years.[2]

Remittance of Arrears.[3]

As regard the senators, Hadrian acted as Nerva and Trajan had done; he regularly sat at their meetings, and both at the senate house and the palace, under all circumstances, he lavished on them formal marks of consideration. He had renewed the oath not to condemn any one of them to death; he filled up the senatorial list from all those who had lost their qualification from no fault of their own, and prohibited any member of that exalted assembly from appearing before judges who did not belong to their own rank. When one day he saw one of his slaves walking between two senators, he

[1] PONTIF. MAX. TR. POT. COS. II.; on the exergue, LIBERALITAS AVG. S. C. Hadrian seated on a stage; before him a man making the distribution; behind, Liberality seated. Large bronze. (Cohen, No. 954.)

[2] Dion, lxix. 8. The passage in Dion is incomprehensible; but the annexed medal witnesses to the remittance of 900,000,000 of sesterces. Forty-six years after, Marcus Aurelius likewise cancelled all that was due to the treasury since Hadrian.

[3] RELIQVA VETERA HS. NOVIES MILL. ABOLITA S. C. A lictor setting fire to a mass of papers. Large bronze. (Cohen, No. 1,046.)

sent some one to give him a box on the ear to teach him to preserve the distance between him and those who might become his masters. When he received the senators he stood up, remembering that Cæsar had given accomplices to his assassins from not condescending to rise up before the senate. He admitted their most distinguished members into the number of those then styled the *friends* or *companions* of the prince, and who later on were designated by the title of *counts* [*comites*]; he honoured several of them with two, even three consulates; he referred to the senate house, in place of deliberating on them in his privy council, the most important affairs, and prohibited any appeal respecting them to the emperor from a judgment of the senate,[1] a decision very flattering to the *Patres* and without danger to the prince, who had no fear that the Curia would give any sentence contrary to his opinion. To mark this complete union between the two powers, Hadrian caused medals to be struck, on which are seen Rome contemplating the Genius of the senate and the prince, who are offering their hands; some others had the inscription *Libertas publica*, with the image of Liberty wearing the sceptre and the Phrygian head-dress. The *imperator* was hidden behind the *princeps senatus*, and these republican appearances were confirmed by republican declarations: "I desire," he often repeated, "to govern the republic in such fashion that it may be seen to be the patrimony of the people and not mine."[2] He spoke thus, without persuading any one that he was not the master. The consular Fronto, friend of Marcus Aurelius, avowed later on that he always was in great fear of Hadrian; but everybody was agreed to be satisfied with words.

Rome and Hadrian shaking Hands. Gold Coin. (Cohen, No. 172.)

Hadrian and Liberty. Gold Coin. (Cohen, No. 316.)

He loved to administer justice, and for all ordinary cases he filled, in all places and at all times, like our ancient kings, the office of judge, seated on his tribunal, with the public round him on all sides. One day a woman stopped him in the street and

[1] *Digest*, xlix. 2, 2.

[2] *Exsecratus est principes qui minus senatoribus detulissent* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 8).

wanted to submit some matter to him. He refused to hear her, and sent her away. "What are you emperor for?" she asked him. He immediately heard her. For instruction in and the decision of important cases he was assisted by magistrates of the highest dignity, senators of the first rank, and the most celebrated jurisconsults, whom he asked the senate to be added to his court,[1] a demand which was an act of homage rendered to the "most illustrious" order. Consequently, at the first conspiracy which was formed, the *Patres* showed their zeal in defending the friend of the senate.

The plot was dangerous, for it had four consulars for its chiefs, personages of importance in the army or at Rome. How is it that this plot was so speedily formed? On the day after his accession Trajan had a panegyrist, as if he had already accomplished actions of note; hardly had his heir reached Rome than he found there assassins. The reason is that Hadrian, kept by his uncle in a state of half-obscurity, which was increased by the dazzling splendour of the great conqueror of Dacia, was as yet only known as a man of culture; and since his accession he had had neither time nor opportunity of showing that energy which commands obedience or submission. There were not wanting those who said that "the elect of Plotina" did not merit the position to which artifice had raised him, and the military chiefs who had crossed the Carpathians or passed the Tigris despised "the little Greek," stuffed with scholastic lore, whose first act of government had been the abandonment of their last conquests. The conspiracy must have exhibited the reaction of the military spirit of the former reign against the civil spirit of the new one. Two needy generals, Cornelius Palma, conqueror of the Arabs, and Lusius Quietus, the best captain of the army of the East, were the movers of the plot. The former, who was Hadrian's old enemy, had lost the favour of Trajan; the latter, a Moor by race, a restless and unquiet spirit, had been dismissed from the army,[2] but had regained the favour of Trajan by important services in the wars of Dacia and the East. This prince conferred on him the title of prætor, the consular fasces,

[1] *Quos tamen senatus omnis probasset* (*ibid.*, 17).

[2] Καταγνωσθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ τότε μὲν τῆς στρατείας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ ἠτιμώθη (Dion, lxviii. 32).

and at the moment when the Jews of Egypt revolted, the government of Palestine, doubtless with that of Arabia, to prevent the rebellion reaching the Oriental provinces.[1] Hadrian, who feared his turbulence and ambition, had at first relegated him to the obscure government of Mauretania, but then recalled him on account of the fresh intrigues which agitated that province.

Lusius and Palma, old in service, had not, although consulars, their residence in Rome. They therefore were obliged, for acting in the city, to ally to themselves men who had influence there: two other consulars, Publilius Celsus and Avidius Nigrinus, were associated in their designs. We know nothing of the former except that he had a second time obtained the consulate in 113, before Hadrian's second consulate. As regards Nigrinus, he must have been well known, although still young, for Trajan had given him in Achaia one of those extraordinary missions[2] which were intrusted only to important personages, and Spartian, who wrote Hadrian's biography with that emperor's *Memoirs* before him, assures us that the new prince, whose marriage still continued without issue, had thought of this person for his successor.[3] But Hadrian was only forty-three; his health was good; the expectation was therefore remote. Nigrinus, whom Spartian calls "a dangerous intriguer—*insidiator*," probably thought that he would hasten matters by a conspiracy.

To these four consulars were added many individuals[4] unable to resist the temptation of plotting in secret an enterprise of murder and revolution. Their fathers had not ceased acting similarly under the Flavii, still more under the Julii, and some of them were still, in the time of Nerva and Trajan, faithful to the tradition of assassination. Every epoch has its moral malady: to our knights of the Middle Age private wars were necessary; duels to the nobles of Henry IV. and Louis XIII., as outbreaks are to modern agitators. For the idlers of the

[1] Dion, lxviii. 32. A rabbinic tradition connects Quietus with two Jews of Alexandria, who had come to Palestine to propagate the revolt there. (Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Palestine*, p. 406.) But I am compelled to say that the history of Quietus from Jewish sources is not in agreement with that from Roman sources.

[2] *Ad ordinandum statum civitatum.*

[3] Lucius Verus, adopted later on by Hadrian, was Nigrinus's son-in-law.

[4] . . . . *multis aliis* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 7).

Roman senate the great distraction and most serious business was a plot. It was agreed to kill Hadrian either during one of the sacrifices which his position imposed on him, or at the hunting, which he loved.

The emperor had just been summoned to the Danube by a movement of the barbarians. The conspirators were therefore obliged to await his return, but some imprudent expressions revealed their intentions. The senate speedily instituted proceedings, and knowing well enough that in a despotic state every claimant to power is liable to punishment by death, did the emperor the service of having the guilty executed without asking orders. After his hurried return, the prince complained of such prompt justice, by declaring that he would have extended pardon, at least of the capital sentence. One has reason to doubt the sincerity of these words spoken after the execution; yet, when it is seen that Hadrian, a short time after, changed the two prefects of the prætorium who had urged the senate to these extreme resolutions, and later on chose as his adopted son the son-in-law of one of the victims, we are obliged to believe with Marcus Aurelius that the *Patres* showed too great haste in testifying their fidelity. "Hadrian forgot," says his biographer, "those who had been his enemies before becoming master." "Now you are saved," he had said to one of them on the day of his accession, and pressed by his old tutor, Cælius Attianus, to rid himself of persons very justly suspected, and notably of the prefect of the city, the most important personage of Rome, he had refused.[1] His whole history will show that he had no taste for blood.

Thus, from the first months of his reign, Hadrian had renewed and strengthened the alliance of Nerva and Trajan with the senatorial aristocracy. Yet he felt towards them a certain distrust which the recent conspiracy had not at all diminished, and he kept always present before his mind the remembrance of Domitian, and the miserable existence passed by this prince at Rome in the midst of terrors and perils.[2] In place of remaining

[1] *Tantum autem statim clementiæ studium habuit* . . . . (Spart., *Hadr.*, 2). This Attianus, so foreseeing and so severe, was one of the two prefects removed from the prætorship.

[2] . . . . *quod timeret ne sibi idem quod Domitiano accidit eveniret* (Spart., *ibid.*, 19).

shut up in the capital, with his freedmen, whose principal employment was to corrupt their master in order to profit by his vices,[1] and in the presence of the senate, to whom it was not prudent to show their sovereign too near and too long, Hadrian lived everywhere, except at Rome.

It is not because he limited his care simply to securing his personal safety. On the contrary, we find him to be the prince who understood better than any of the Roman emperors all the duties of his position. "If any misfortune happen to me, I intrust to you the provinces," Trajan had said to the jurisconsult Priscus, whom he judged worthy of the Empire. Hadrian never forgot this expression, and since in everything his will was sovereign, he thought he ought to see everything before deciding. His reign is, in fact, only a long series of journeys through the provinces, whose wants he wished to learn by studying them on the spot, in order to avoid the mistakes, the neglects, and the acts of injustice which the thick veil of the court and the official world at Rome interposed between the emperor and the Empire. By this mode of life he baffled the intrigues, which could not follow him everywhere, and, at the same time, he became assured of the fidelity of the legions which he visited in turn; so that he secured a double return in well executing the vocation of emperor.

The chronology of these journeys is difficult to fix,[2] and we have respecting each of them very scanty information, although Hadrian spent two-thirds of his reign in this way, that is,

[1] Hadrian himself used to say: *omnibus superioribus principibus vitia imputans libertorum* (Spart., *ibid.*, 20).

[2] M. Julius Dürr (*Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*) has attempted to fix the chronological sequence of these journeys, but he has been compelled to affix many notes of interrogation. The following are the conclusions of this painstaking savant: 117, in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (? ?), at the beginning of November in the valley of the Danube; 118, in the Danube valley and arrival at Rome at the beginning of August; 119, stay at Rome and in South Italy; 120, stay at Rome; 121, departure for Gaul, Rhætia, and Noricum; 122, in Gaul, Britain, and Spain; 123, in Mauretania, Africa, Asia Minor, and Syria; 124, in Pontus, Bithynia, Mysia, and the Isles; 125, in Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, and Central Greece; 126, at Athens, the Peloponnesus, the Isles, and Sicily; 127, stay at Rome; 128, in Africa; 129, return to Rome, voyage to Greece and stay at Athens; 130, stay at Athens, voyage to Asia Minor, then in Syria, to Palmyra, Jerusalem, Petra, and in Egypt; 131, stay at Alexandria, return by Syria; 132, in Palestine; 133-8, stay at Rome.

thirteen or fourteen years out of twenty-one. Before detailing his civil administration by following him into the provinces, in order to collect the scanty supply of facts special to each country, furnished by coins, inscriptions, or historic details,[1] let us go, as he did, first of all to the frontier, and see in what manner he intended to carry out a policy of peace, which he had made the rule of his government from the first.

This policy made use of two means: beyond the frontiers, the *system of subsidies*, which received a large extension in order to keep the barbarians in their own homes; on the frontier itself, a powerful system of defence, based on immense works of fortification, and the establishment of the severest discipline in the armies.

The employment of subsidies inaugurated by Augustus, continued by his successors, but in accidental circumstances, became in Hadrian's case a principle of government, the application of which we can, unhappily, only conjecture, as revealed by numerous facts. We have seen already that instead of risking the safety of his forces in the heart of Asia, he had made them fall back on the frontier which nature herself had marked out behind the great desert of Syria; he will do the same in Britain, "in order," says his biographer, "to guard nothing useless." Then he tried, beyond his secured frontier, further, by means of persuasion, counsels, and presents, to establish good relations between the barbarians and the Empire. He pensioned a king of the Roxolani and many others, for we read in Spartian "that he attached all the kings to himself by his liberality"[2]—a statement which Dion and Aurelius Victor repeat, and which Arrian confirms.[3] "To the prince of the Iberians," relates the first, "he sent an elephant, a cohort of 500 armed men, and some rich presents. When he came into the neighbourhood of the barbarians, he invited their chiefs to pay him a visit, and he

[1] We possess the coins of twenty-five provinces visited by Hadrian. As historians, there remain only Spartian, a writer void of clearness, possessing neither art nor critical skill, and who is to Suetonius what the latter was to Tacitus, and Xiphilinus, the indifferent abbreviator of Dion Cassius. But the age of the Antonines is the most brilliant epoch of Roman epigraphy, and the coins of Hadrian are perhaps the finest of the imperial series.

[2] Spart., *Hadr.*, 16; cf. 12 and 20.

[3] Χρήματα λαμβάνοντες (Dion, lxix. 9); cf. Aur. Victor, or the unknown author of the *Epitome*, xiv.

exchanged presents with them, taking care that his own should be worthy of the hand which offered them." So, when Spartian tells us that he gave a king to some Germans, we may rest assured that this chief returned to his own people accompanied by councillors who felt it a duty to preserve him in fidelity to the Empire, and with the means of appeasing the warlike turbulence of his people. In the region of the Black Sea, Arrian names six kings who held their power from Hadrian.[1]

If we knew better the diplomacy of this prince, we should certainly see him exercising over the peoples established along his frontiers a multifold and continuous action, by means of gold, trade, perhaps intrigues, that is to say, by trying to bind to the Empire, by interests, this first line of barbarism, which would have served as a bulwark against the more dangerous barbarism ranged behind it.

This policy, which forestalled external difficulties, is that from which the Americans, English, and Russians have, in our days, derived so many advantages, without seeing in it any of the disgrace imputed to the conduct of the Roman emperors.[2] Later on, this means of defence will prove fatal by provoking the appetites of the barbarians whom the Empire is no longer in a condition to restrain; but in the time of Hadrian it was wise and able, because behind this moderation there was force. Dion Cassius is not large-minded; but mixed up, as consul, in the most important affairs, he understood the system. "He loaded," says he, "the kings with his bounties; foreigners never attempted any movement against him because he never disturbed them, and because, also, they well knew the strength of his preparations. Even more, they allowed themselves to go so far as to accept him as arbitrator in their differences."

The whole external history of the Empire during this reign is comprised in these words. Rome had peace then; not a cowardly peace without precautions, which submits to humiliation or prepares disasters, but that active resolute peace which does not fear war.

[1] . . . . ἐκ σοῦ βασιλείαν ἔχει (*Peripl. Pont. Eux.*, cap. ii. and *passim*).

[2] Hence comes the ridiculous accusation that he bought peace from the barbarians: *A regibus multis pace occultis muneribus impetrata* (Aur. Victor, *Epit.*, xiv.).

It is known that the Roman army had no garrisons at all in the interior. The greatest general of the imperial epoch, Trajan, had formulated the principle of a good administration for war: "Do not remove the soldiers from their colours; small garrisons destroy the military spirit." The whole army was, therefore, kept in quarters in the vicinity of the frontier. It protected the interior of the Empire and did not reside there. Its life was rough and austere, for its encampments were in torrid or icy solitudes; in the midst of marshes, which it drained; of forests, where it opened out roads; of uncultivated plains, which it made fruitful; and as the barbarian was but a short way off, watching every opportunity of murder and pillage, it was needful to have hand upon sword as well as upon axe, and eye everywhere.

Yet, in time and with increasing security, want of spirit had crept into the camps. A crowd of mechanics had established themselves under the shade of the rampart, to supply the wants and vices of the soldier, the elegance and luxury of the chiefs. Augustus had reserved for the sons of senators and knights the grades of tribune and prefect. These young exquisites, condemned to pass five years in camp before attaining civil charges and honours, transmitted thither their habits of life, and the *castra stativa* became by degrees towns where all the comforts of city life were to be found.

Hadrian had no pity for this effeminacy. "He had destroyed," says his biographer, "the artificial grottoes and the porticoes built as shelter against the rain or the heat of the day, the festive halls and pleasure houses where the rude duties of service were forgotten. He drove away the fools, the clowns, and all the caterers of an easy life who tend to enervate both the body and mind of the soldier;[1] and to preserve the remembrance of this return to the austerity of military manners he caused medals to be struck which show him marching at the head of the soldiers, with these words on the exergue: DISCIPLINA AVG., as if a new divinity had descended from heaven for the safety of the Empire.

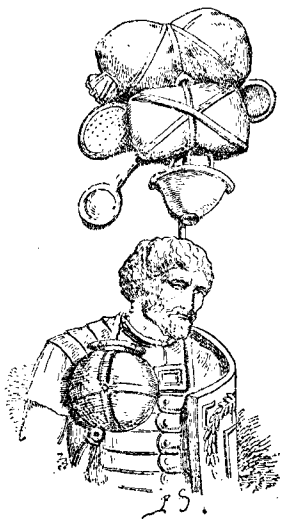
In the camp, restored to its former strictness, he kept every

[1] *Labantem disciplinam incuria superiorum principum retinuit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 10).

one, refusing leave when not needed for imperial reasons, in order that the legions might be always up to their full number, and the officers and soldiers always in training. Besides, he was of opinion that the warrior should be as used to the camp as the workman is to the workshop and the labourer in the field: each in the midst of what suited him.

Hadrian marching, followed by Three Soldiers.[2]

He modified the soldiers' accoutrements and made fresh regulations regarding baggage. On these two matters we are left to conjectures. But the prince who made his soldiers[1] do three long marches every month, and who himself followed their columns, could only occupy himself respecting the *impedimenta* so far as to



Soldier carrying his Baggage (Col. Trajan).

Soldier without Baggage (Col. Trajan).

diminish the number and double the force of the army by augmenting the rapidity of its movements.

In the matter of armour we are also ignorant of the changes which he effected; but we still possess the field order given by his lieutenant, Arrian, governor of the province of Cappadocia, which the Alani threatened to invade.[3] It contains instructions as minute and precise as would be those of the best modern general; they regulate the composition of the army, its march, the

[1] Vegetius, i. 27.

[2] Coin commemorative of the return to military discipline. Gold coin. (Cohen, No. 210.)

[3] *Ἔκταξις κατ' Ἀλανῶν.* The infantry cohorts and the cavalry troops bore, like our old provincial regiments, local names.

dispositions to take on the field of battle, during the action and after the victory. As in it Arrian speaks of corps of every kind, it is clear that the Romans had adopted the arms of the barbarians, in order to unite to the modes of action proper to the legions all those of which the enemy made use. I find, besides, in another passage of Arrian, the emperor's order to all the generals to study the arms and tactics of the Parthians, Armenians, Sarmatians, and Celts.[1]

This attention to an unceasing improvement of the equipment of the soldiers and the evolutions of the troops was however an old and happy tradition of Roman policy. The wars against the Gauls of Italy had taught them the advantage of bronze helmets and of bucklers bound with steel; to fight the Cimbri they had changed the staff of the javelin, the projectile of the legionaries; from the Spaniards they had taken the short strong sword; from the Greeks, their siege artillery and the art of besieging. A Carthaginian vessel stranded on the shore had been the first model of their war galleys. In this way this people, who believed themselves the first nation in the world, and who were so, were always learning and unceasingly improving the science by which they had subdued the world.

No branch of the service escaped Hadrian's surveillance and reforms—either that of the ambulances, which he visited daily when in camp, or that of the victualling, which never failed, or the arsenals, the magazines for arms and clothing, which he kept always well stocked. Strict economy in the expenditure[2] permitted all wants to be met.

"He himself controlled," says the historian Dion Cassius, "all connected with the army, and by his acts and orders he put discipline and exercises into such a good condition, that even now his rules form the law in the army."[3]

[1] Βασιλεὺς δὲ προσεξεῦρεν καὶ τὰ βαρβαρικὰ ἐκμελετᾶν αὐτούς (*Tact.*, 44). These two books of Arrian, though rather short, are full of curious information on the tactics and equipment of the Romans. Respecting the operations, engines, and siege works, see the study of M. de Saulcy, *les Derniers Jours de Jérusalem.*

[2] *Ordinatis impendiis . . . . agebat ut semper militum numerus sciretur* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 10). This author adds (11) that Hadrian was very economical in everything which concerned only himself.

[3] lxix. 9. Vegetius, who cites these regulations, uses a good part of them for his work *de Re mil.*, i. 8. The Emperor Valerian authorized, 150 years later, the military regulations of Hadrian. Cf. Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 4.

These reforms might possibly excite complaints; he forestalled them by himself submitting to the severest requirements of the military life. When he came into camp the army counted but one soldier more. His dress was very plain, without gold or jewels in his armour, only an ivory handle to his heavy sword; his frugal meals were composed of the legionaries' provisions—bacon, cheese, cheap wine, and always taken in public;[1] his mode of life, that of the working officer. If the army were on the march, a stage of twenty miles on foot and under arms, in the midst of the cohorts, did not deter him, and it is probable that when he made all his cavalry cross the Danube by swimming, he crossed with it.[2] Much harder upon himself than the lowest soldier, he went bareheaded under the snows of Caledonia and under the sun of Upper Egypt; even in the latter years of his life he practised hurling the javelin, handling arms, and never, in camp or on march, did he choose to make use of carriage or litter.

These are unexceptionable evidences which in no small degree change the physiognomy of Antinous's lover, but serious history has always a number of corrections to make in this legendary history.

When the lives of soldiers are demanded in quarrels which are foreign to them, the first thing necessary is to give them an example of the qualities and virtues required of them. Hadrian understood this truth by his good sense and fairness. The natural result of seeing the prince attach so great importance to manly exercises, and watch with such attention all the service, was that there was not a centurion, a tribune, or a legate who would dare to neglect anything.

But it was also a docile army. There was not a soldier who would think of delaying to show obedience to a chief who demanded only of others what he imposed upon himself, and who had every military quality along with the sense of justice.

Hadrian gave the vine stock, the mark of a centurion's rank, only to the bravest of the legionaries; he sent away from the camp the beardless officers to whom Augustus had opened it, as

[1] He observed this frugality even in the palace. He never drank wine, as Dion asserts (lxix. 7), at the repast called by the Romans *prandium*.

[2] At least Suidas asserts it, and we possess the funeral inscription of the Batavian soldier who had been the first to reach in this fashion the left bank of the Danube. (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 3,676.)

well as the soldiers admitted too young, and those who were kept till too old in order to economize in their pensions. For nominating a tribune he no longer required birth, but age and merit. It was making promotion to the higher ranks easy to good soldiers; and as they saw him visiting the sick in their quarters, watching over their well-being and security without disdaining the smallest detail, for this solicitude they in return showed a gratitude which prevented any mutiny during his reign of twenty-one years, in which moreover the army had neither a day of plundering nor of victory.[1]

In travelling from Constantine to the oasis of Biskra, there is, at Lambessa, at the foot of Mount Aures, a Roman camp, which still preserves its stone rampart, that of the legion *IIIa Augusta*, the prætorium or residence of the legatus who commanded it, and at two kilomètres from the camp, in the midst of other ruins, a pedestal, which bears an allocution addressed by Hadrian to the troops. It praises their zeal in executing all the prescribed exercises, even the most difficult; in doing, in one day, works in which others would have employed a week; in carrying enormous burdens; in fighting sham battles, which are an image of real war, and which prepare for it, etc.[2]

This inscription, mutilated as it is, says enough to show that Hadrian had not forgotten even a handful of men, hidden at the borders of the great desert; and we conclude from it that his vigilance extended to all the points of the immense circle traced round the Empire by the military posts of the legions.

There remains another cotemporary document, a fragment of the *Poliorcetica* of Apollodorus. Hadrian, who knew how to utilize all forms of talent, had asked a great architect to draw

[1] *A militibus, propter curam exercitus nimiam, multum amatus est* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 21). He gave to the licensed veterans the privilege conceded by Augustus to soldiers under the colours (vol. iv. p. 255, notes 1 and 2) of disposing of their savings even when they were still *in potestate parentum*. (*Inst.*, ii. 12, *proœm.*)

[2] See L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Algérie*, p. 3, and Wilmanns, *Mémoire* on Lambessa in the *Commentationes philol.*, 1877. The legion *IIIa Augusta*, aided by its auxiliaries, had constructed a military road from Lambessa to Carthage (Orelli, No. 3,564, *anno* 123), posts in all the passes of Mount Aures, and a foot-road along its whole length; it was by these immense works of public and military utility, as much as by the number and variety of their exercises, that the Romans beguiled the weariness of camp life.

The Prætorium at Lambessa.

up a treatise on military machines.[1] Apollodorus did better; in a short time he wrote the treatise, and besides, designed the machines and had them made; then he sent designs and explanations to the prince, along with a number of workmen whom he had trained.[1] It was what we should call a new kind of siege and field artillery, since Apollodorus seems to have set little value on that previously in use. "The old kinds," said he, "were of no use to me." And his new engines he made light though strong, and very easily moved, *leves et veloces*; "for," he adds, "when I was with you in the armies, I learnt how much the necessities of war require mobility, both in men and machines." All these are still truths of to-day.

But what purpose did all these preparations and expenses serve? Why so much care in putting in order an instrument which was not at all used? Hadrian was prepared for war in order to have peace. With an army so perfectly exercised and so docile, consequently always ready for action, he was able, without peril, to inaugurate a peaceful policy. No one, within or without, considered this resolution as an avowal of weakness, and he no more met with any man ambitious enough to raise a sedition than a king or people bold enough to attack such a well-guarded frontier.

But let us look at this frontier: the spectacle there is as curious as in the camps.

The first which Hadrian considered was that of the Danube. He had scarcely reached Rome from the East when he was recalled into Mœsia by an invasion of the Roxolani. The king of this people was annoyed at the pension having been reduced which Trajan used to pay him,[2] and clouds of barbarian horse,

[1] *Misi quoque fabros indigenas et reliquos artifices ac operarios* (*Poliorcetica*, Greek and Latin text with figures, in the magnificent first printed edition of 1693, *in proœmio*). The greatest range of the ancient machines was 440 mètres, according to M. de Rochas, *Balistique de l'antiquité*, in the *Annuaire de la Société pour l'encouragement des études grecques*, 1877, p. 273. M. de Rochas recalls the fact that Archimedes shot stones of 250 kilogrammes, and that at Carthagena, when Scipio took the place, he found there 120 oxybeles (catapults to throw darts) of large calibre and 281 of small; twenty-three large lithoboli (catapults to throw stones) and fifty-two small: in all 476 pieces of artillery, without counting 2,500 missile weapons called scorpions, and analogous in their use to our guns for forts. A petrobolus of thirty minæ (26 lb.) corresponded in effect to our ancient cannon of 12 lb.

[2] *Rex Roxolanorum qui de imminutis stipendiis querebatur* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 6). We have

the ancestors of the Cossacks of the present time, had burst in upon Eastern Dacia, whilst the Sarmatian Iazyges, who were of the same descent, attacked the province on the west. These tribes, from their contact with Rome, acquired the diplomatic skill belonging to well-settled governments. Under Trajan, Decebalus extended his intrigues on all sides, and sent emissaries as far as the Parthians. When the legions had been stationed in this province of Dacia, which by the arrangement of its mountains seemed to be a great fortress, cutting into two a part of the barbarian world, the Sarmatæ of the Theiss continued to act in concert behind the Carpathians with those of the Dnieper,[1] and they attached so much value to preserving these relations, that we see them under Marcus Aurelius consenting not to put a boat on the Danube on the condition of being able to traffic together across Dacia. The fact is, they hid, under these commercial relations, political relations, which made those coalitions easy by which the Empire was so often assailed and finally destroyed.

Hadrian haranguing the Legions of Mœsia. (Large Bronze, Cohen, No. 799.)

That which Hadrian had then before him does not appear to have been very formidable. However, he hastened to the midst of the legions of Mœsia, and was already making great preparations when the news reached him of Palma and Quietus's conspiracy. In such a crisis his presence was needed at Rome; instead of fighting he re-established the ancient subsidy, made a friend of the king of the Roxolani, who seems to have assumed his name,[2] and sent him as quickly as possible, with his own people, to their encampments on the rivers Bug and Dnieper. In order not to have to return to this frontier, we shall show, at this point of time, the defensive organization at which Hadrian laboured, without doubt, during the whole of his reign.

seen, p. 11, n. 2, that M. Julius Dürr supposes the stay of Hadrian in Mœsia to have preceded his arrival at Rome, which it seems to me hard to admit.

[1] Cf., on the consanguinity of these peoples, Schafarik, *Slav. Alterth.*, vol. i. pp. 333–373.

[2] At least there is an inscription thus read: *P. Ælio Rasparasano regi Roxolanorum* (*C. I. L.*, vol. v. 32; cf. 33), which proves that this name of Ælius, which was that of Hadrian, had been taken and used in this royal family.

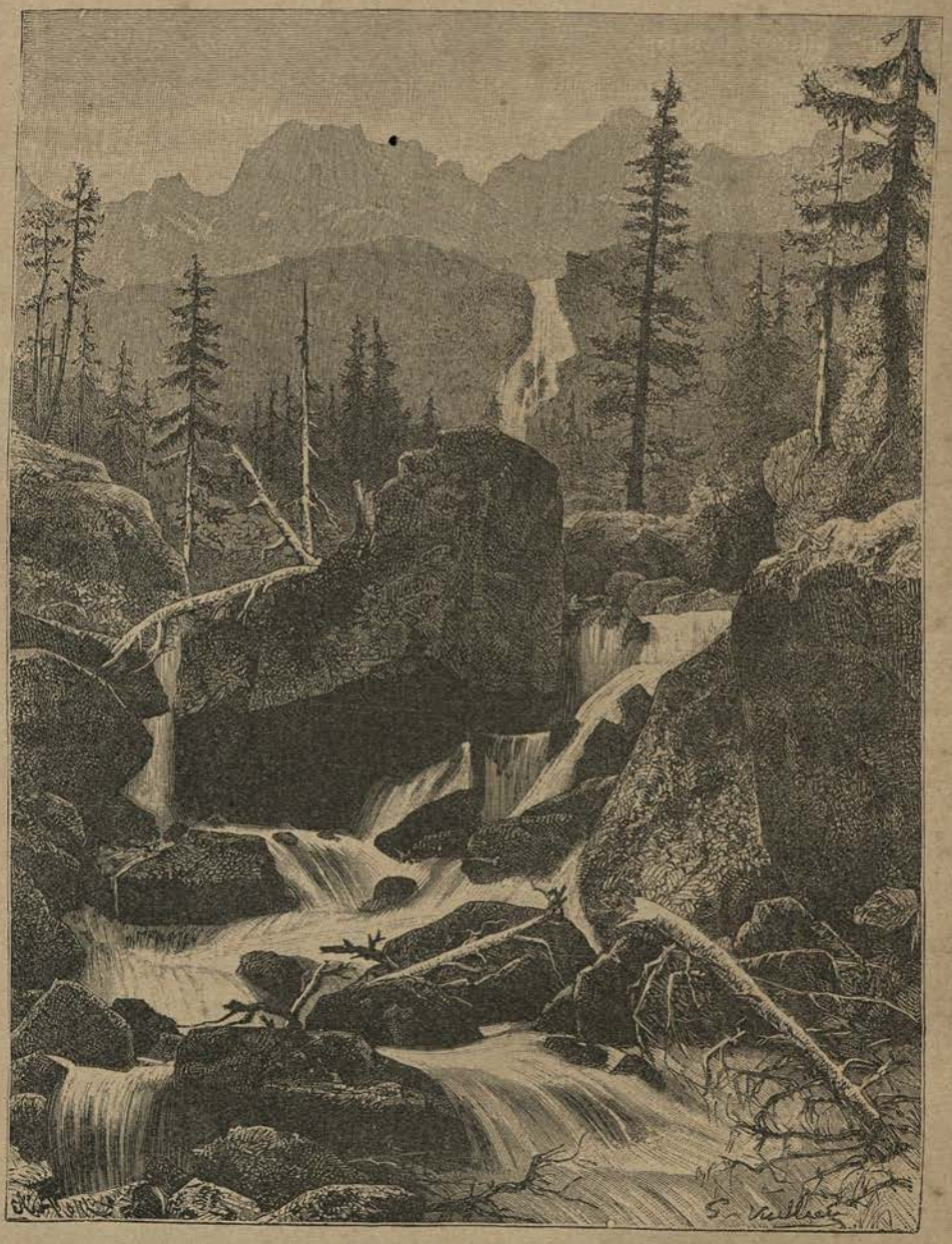
The territory situated to the north of the mouths of the Danube, between the Sereth and the Dniester (Bessarabia), by which the Roxolani had just passed, and by which they passed in all later invasions, made a part, under the rule of a procurator, of the government of Lower Mœsia. It was an important possession, although the Empire had not risked any colonies there, because the troops cantoned in the Dobrutscha were able to march thither rapidly and close the large opening which, on that side, stretches from the Carpathians to the sea. Therefore, one legion, the *Va Macedonica*, had been placed at *Troesmis* (Iglitza),[1] not far from the head of the Danubian delta, and from the parts where, at the present time, stand the large towns of Braïla and Galatz. Among the numerous inscriptions which have been found there, one, of the time of Hadrian, shows the future city in the state of a village (*vicus*), formed by the booths of the suttlers. As for the camp, it had been skilfully placed on this promontory at a height of 100 feet, from which they dominated for a good way the course of the Danube, studded with numerous islands, which both facilitated the passage and its defence. At the least rumour of invasion the legion hurried across the river, behind the Sereth, and barred the route against the invaders, or, by threatening to cut off their retreat, forced them to a precipitate retreat. Besides, the Romans had for a long time furnished, at the extremity of this region, a point of support in the town of Tyras, an ancient rich colony of Miletus, founded at the mouth of the Dniester, in the vicinity of the present town of Akkerman.[2] They had also a second in the Crimea (*Chersonesus Taurica*), at Kertch (Panticapæum), where there reigned a king of the Sarmatians who was said to be a great friend of the Empire and Hadrian.[3] Another Milesian

[1] We give on next page the restoration of Troesmis by M. Ambr. Baudry. We are indebted for the communication to M. Engelhardt, formerly consul-general of France at Belgrade, who has carefully studied the ruins of this fortress. See L. Renier, *Inscr. de Troesmis*.

[2] Orelli-Henzen, No. 6,429. This inscription, which refers to a letter of Septimius Severus, confirming some privileges formerly granted to Tyras, shows the persistency of the emperors in protecting these Greek cities on the north coast of the Euxine, by means of which they watched and kept in check the barbarians of the interior.

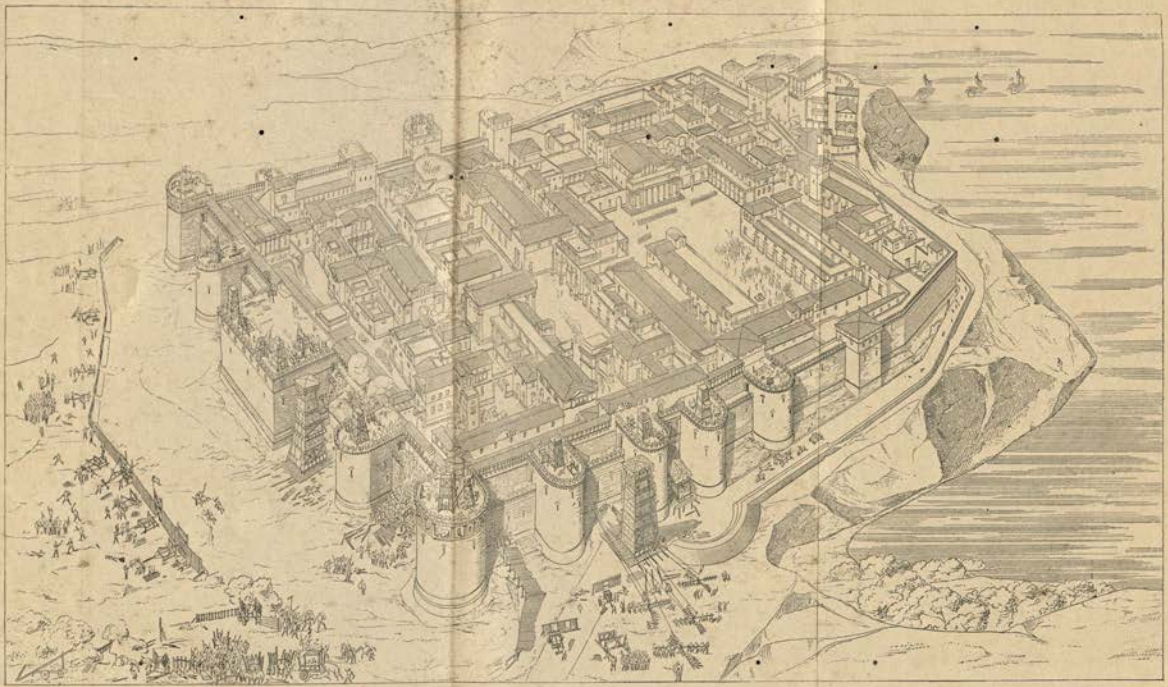
[3] *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 783. He reigned from 92 to 124. See *infra*, p. 41. The Romans had detached Heraclea, one of the principal towns of Taurica Chersonesus, from the kingdom of the Bosphorus and had declared it free.

colony, *Olbia* (Otchakof), at the mouth of the Borysthenes (Dnieper), one of the largest marts of those regions, served the



A View in the Carpathians.

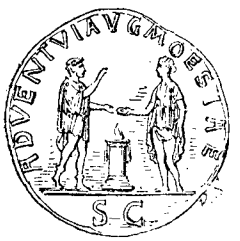
purpose of a vigilant sentinel. Finally, the Black Sea fleet connected these points with the maritime places of Mœsia: *Tomi* (Kustendje) and *Odessus* (Varna); so that, of the vast semi-circle



FORTRESS OF TROESMIS (IGLITZA).
Restoration of M. A. Baudry.

described by the coast, from *Odessus* to *Olbia*, one half was well defended, the other half well watched.

Thus, the lower valley of the Danube, protected on the north by the Carpathians, was also on the east by advanced posts, from whence the Romans restrained the barbarism which rolled, like an open sea, over the immense extent of the Sarmatian plains. To whom belongs the honour of this defensive organization? Doubtless to that able governor of Mœsia, Plautius Ælianus, of whom we have already spoken. Tyras ought to have claimed the protection of the Empire at the time when Plautius executed, between the Sereth and the Dniester, the immense razzia which gave him a hundred thousand captives, whom he turned into as many labourers for his province.[1] But at one epoch or another, whether during his stay in the year 118 on the banks of the Danube, or on a later journey, Hadrian was certainly engaged about this country, where he had served as legionary tribune since the reign of Domitian,[2] and where he was obliged to avert the first peril that had shown itself since his accession. Some medals celebrate his arrival in Mœsia; others show him haranguing the troops of this province, and the inhabitants of *Tomi* had an inscription engraven in his honour, the most ancient in the Latin language which has been found in the ruins of that city.[4] Lastly, a rescript of Septimius Severus, addressed to the inhabitants of *Tyras*, recalls to mind and confirms the privileges which a legate of Hadrian had acknowledged as theirs.[5]



Hadrian and Mœsia.[3]

Was it he who raised, along the lower Danube, and on the

[1] See *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. pp. 496, 668. The era of Tyras is made to begin in 56, but it is not certain that the solitary letters marked on its coins, as on the greater part of those of Mœsia and Thrace, are, as has been believed, chronological marks.

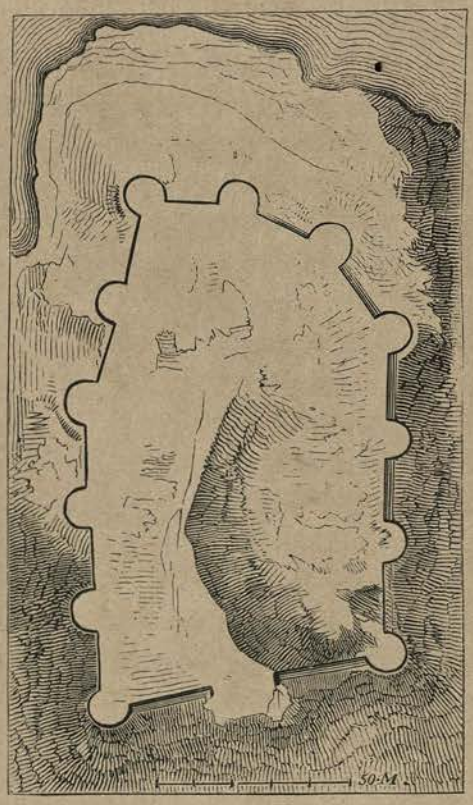
[2] In 96, in the *Va Macedonica*. (Spart., *Hadr.*, 2, and *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 550.)

[3] Coin commemorative of Hadrian's arrival in Mœsia: ADVENTVI AVG. MOESIAE. (Large bronze, Cohen, No. 622.)

[4] *Senatus populusque Tomitanorum*. This inscription is of the year 129 (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 765). See the *Additam.*, p. 997. The coins brought from Tomi by the *Mission du Danube* belong for the most part, for the later Empire, to the epoch of the Antonines. (*Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq.*, 3rd series, vol. v. p. 227.)

[5] *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 781. The governor of Mœsia mentioned in this inscription bears at least the same name as one of the ordinary consuls of the year 133.

south branch of its delta, so many posts, which were for a long time the bulwark of the Turkish empire, after having been that of the Roman?[1] This cannot be said with certainty. But when we shall have presently seen all that he did on the mid-Danube and in Britain, we shall feel a right in believing that he neglected nothing which could secure one of the most vulnerable of his frontiers.



Danubian Fortress.[2]

These details, apparently unconnected with general history, enable us to comprehend by what skilful precautions the Empire was put in a state to resist the pressure of the world of barbarism for two centuries, that is to say, so long as they had as chiefs, setting aside those two fools, Caligula and Nero, princes often cruel at Rome, but always watchful over the frontiers. They also show what value it is right to set on the tradition which attributes to Hadrian the destruction of the bridge of Trajan, "from jealousy of his predecessor's glory," and even the intention to abandon Dacia, a project from which his friends say they succeeded in turning him.[3] He had not kept the conquests beyond the Euphrates and Tigris because, in those countries, not

[1] Prista (the present fortress of Rutchuk), Durostorum, which has become Silistria, Cius (Hirsova), Troesmis (Iglitza), Arrubium (Matchin), Dinogetia, Noviodunum (Isaktcha), Ægysus (Tultcha), etc.

[2] The fortress of Dinogetia, the ruins of which were discovered in 1865 by M. Engelhardt, consul-general of France at Belgrade, on an isolated plateau, near the river, has an area of 7,500 square mètres. The distance of twenty-seven mètres, which separates each of its twelve towers, is exactly the same that M. Engelhardt had measured between the towers of the front of the entrenched camp of Troesmis. The plan above given was drawn by M. Baudry.

[3] . . . . *Trajani gloriæ invidens . . . . amici deterruerunt* (Eutropius, viii. 6).

one Roman citizen had settled; but he favoured the emigration of Latin colonists into Dacia, and the proof is that they are still there.

A Dacian.[3]

Those whom Trajan had been able, in a few years, to get to settle there, were certainly not in sufficient number to assure to their descendants the possession of such vast countries. But as the measures taken for the military protection of the valley of the Danube afforded perfect security to that region, the current of colonization continued to flow thither. Consequently, inscriptions are found there in honour of Hadrian,[1] works executed in his name,[2] and coins on which the new province, now one of the bulwarks of the Empire, is represented by the warlike symbol of a woman seated on a rock, who in one hand holds the curved sword of the Dacians, in the other an ensign.[4]

Dacia. Large Bronze. (Cohen, 770.)

As regards Trajan's bridge, it was now so far from the barbarians and so easy to defend, that it must have been rendered unfit for use only at the epoch when the Roman troops could no longer maintain themselves in Dacia; and this necessity occurred only a century and a half after Hadrian, when Aurelian, between 270 and 275, recalled to the right bank of the Danube the rest of the Roman troops and the colonists who wished to follow them.[5]

[1] *C. I. L.*, Nos. 953, 1,371, 1,445, 1,447.

[2] His legate had constructed, in the year 133, an aqueduct to Sarmizegetusa. (*Ibid.*, No. 1,446.)

[3] Bust of a Dacian found near Trajan's Forum. (Vatican, *Braccio nuovo*, No. 118.)

[4] We possess such coins of the time of Hadrian and even under Gallienus. (Greppo, p. 102.) Instead of being a curved sword, Cohen thinks it to be a reaping-hook.

[5] This opinion is derived, amongst moderns, from a passage of lib. lxviii. cap. 13, of Dion, where it is said that Hadrian caused the upper part of the bridge to be taken away. But this is by no means the text even of the historian, and Xiphilinus, after having cited the very exact description given by his author, has quite naturally added that for a long time the bridge had not been used. He says, it is true, that Hadrian had caused the flooring to be taken away. If it were proved that this was Dion's own statement there would be no reply to it, because

Twenty years before this Decius had again won the surname of *Daciarum restitutor*.

The most exposed frontier, and at the same time the one

Bust of Hadrian found at Antium (Museum of the Capitol).

nearest to Italy, was that of the middle Danube, all along Pannonia, which the river bounded on the north and east, from its confluence

Dion was almost a contemporary. But the assertion, having against it all historical probabilities, must be attributed to the abbreviator, a writer of the eleventh century, who picked up one of those retrospective calumnies of which Hadrian has been the victim for reasons which we shall explain later on and from which he was not spared while living, as regards the abandonment of Trajan's conquests. We have already seen the very legitimate causes of this latter resolution.

with the Gran as far as the Save. Beyond this line was crowded a mass of German and Slav nations, often conquered, never subdued, who in a bound could reach the Alps and force the gates of Italy. When Trajan had formed the province of Lower Pannonia, he had assigned one legion to it,[1] which fixed its principal quarters in front and close to the enemy at *Aquincum* on the mountain of Buda, and at *Mursa*, on the Drave, not far from its confluence with the Danube. There, as at *Troesmis*, as everywhere where a Roman detachment was fixed, merchants had followed the soldiers, the veterans were settled near their old comrades, and their huts had caused the origin to two places, which Hadrian made into two important places: *Mursa* recognized him as its founder and bore his name;[2] *Aquincum* owed to him, without doubt, its rank as a colony. The sites were so well chosen, that one is now the capital of Esclavonia (Eszeg), and the other that of Hungary (Ofen or Buda).

The line of the middle Danube was thus in course of being well guarded. Higher up, three legions had been placed *en échelons* along the river, at Brigetio (O-Szony, near Comorn),[3] at Carnuntum (Petronel), which took the name of *Municipium Ælium*,[4] and at Vindobona (Vienna), where the flotilla of the Danube was stationed.

Covered on the right and left by the grand armies of Pannonia and Superior Germany,[5] besides being backed by the Alps and protected naturally by their mountains, Noricum and Rhætia did not seem to require many military precautions. We find, as late as Marcus Aurelius, only procurators to administer them, and for

[1] Probably *IIa Adjutrix*.

[2] *Divo Hadriano Mursenses conditori suo* (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 3,279). The city seems to have been partly built by the legion *IIa Adjutrix*. An inscription at Aquincum is sacred to the memory of a *Canabensis*, or tavern-keeper of that city, some trader come thence from Cologne. (*Mus. de Pesth*, by E. Desjardins, No. 180.)

[3] The most ancient inscription, found at Brigetio (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 4,356), bears the name of a legate who had been consul under Hadrian in 134. The town had been at first only a village of vivandiers and veterans. Thus the inscription, No. 4,298, is dedicated by a veteran of the legion *Ia Adjutrix*, become decurio of Brigetio.

[4] *Municipium Ælium*. Mommsen believes, but without giving any proofs, that it is indebted rather to Antoninus for this name. (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. p. 550.) Trajan seems to have been pre-occupied, especially in Pannonia, with his important colony of Pætovio, where the chief administration of the province was carried on. (*Ibid.*, p. 510.)

[5] There were three legions in Upper Pannonia and just as many in Upper Germany.

their defence only isolated detachments, cohorts, or squadrons. Yet Hadrian visited them: the historians do not speak of his travels in that region, but coins have preserved the remembrance of them, and long ago has been ascribed to him the foundation of *Juvavium* (Salzburg)[1] in the midst of a magnificent country, at a point where the new city barred the route to Italy against every incursion coming from Bohemia by the valley of the Inn.

Arrival of Hadrian in Britain. (C. Bruce, *The Rom. Wall*, p. 12.)

We have seen, *à propos* of the Agri Decumates,[2] what was the Roman system of defence for arresting in this direction the incursions of the barbarians. Hadrian continued it while improving it. When Spartian speaks of the journey of this prince in the German provinces he is satisfied with writing: "In many places where no river existed to serve as a barrier against the barbarians, he formed a sort of wall of large piles driven into the ground and strongly united." These words imply a good deal concerning the emperor's wish to fortify his Empire, but very little as to the means he employed.

Hadrian haranguing the Army of Rhætia.[3]

Hadrian haranguing the Army of Noricum.[4]

Fortunately we are able to state them precisely by a study of a line of fortifications still quite recognizable by the mounds of earth and the *débris* of walls which remain, or by excavations which show the site of the buildings which have disappeared. The *Picts' Wall* in Britain will teach us what was the *Devil's Wall* in Germany;[5] and by seeing the supposed fosse of Trajan

[1] It was the opinion of Pighius, which caused some doubts in Orelli (No. 496), and which Mommsen combats. (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 5,536.)

[2] In vol. iv. p. 704.

[3] EXERCITUS RAETICUS. Large bronze. (Cohen, No. 803.)

[4] EXERCITUS NORICUS. Large bronze. (Cohen, No. 800.)

[5] The *Teufelmauer*, which extended 200 miles, reproduced the principal arrangements of the *Vallum Hadriani:* it was a rampart of earth, doubtless palisaded and fronted by a large fosse, stone wall with watch towers, and in the rear a military road, near which were the entrenched camps. The work incorrectly named Trajan's fosse, in the Dobrutscha, is formed

in the Dobrutscha, a barbarous work of the fourth century, with its triple *agger* running across an immense plain, we shall be able to reproduce the system applied by Hadrian in Britain, and may assert that all the vulnerable frontiers were defended by similar defences, because it was a tradition of Roman policy.

It was under the very eyes of the prince that the works of the *Vallum Hadriani* were commenced. He had chosen as its site an isthmus a hundred kilomètres broad which the Tyne and the Irthing, descending from a chain of heights having a steep slope towards the north, crossed in opposite directions to flow into two gulfs,[1] where the ocean tides stem their waters some distance off. This isthmus seemed to him an excellent defensive position. The works which

The Tutelar Genius of the Camp.[2]

of three fosses, each running along an earthen embankment: the most southerly *vallum*, or the little fosse, has its parapet to the north and its ditch to the south, to prevent an attack coming from that direction; the northern *vallum*, or stone fosse, whose defences look northwards; and then the great fosse, which partly runs by the side of the second to double its strength, and which cuts it at several points. This last *vallum* is formed of an earthen embankment lying between two broad deep ditches, but unequal, the northern one being the greater; the crest of the parapet commands its depth of nine mètres. The stone fosse was defended by a wall which was probably not terminated, the *débris* of which have given its name to this *vallum;* some layers visible near Kustendje are two mètres broad. The engineer Michel, from whom I borrow these details, adds: "We are inclined to believe that the three fosses called after Trajan were intended to form a complete unique system of defence; that they were all projected together . . . . and that the space comprised between the *small fosse* and the two others would have formed a sort of vast entrenched camp, where incursions from the north as well as a surprise coming from the rear of the lines could be warded off." The great fosse was bordered by entrenched camps whose inclosures are still to be seen; on the heights, or half way, were circular camps protected by stone parapets. See *Les Travaux de Défense des Romains dans la Dobroutcha,* by M. Michel, *Soc. des Ant. de France, IIIe série,* vol. v. p. 215. These works are attributed to Count Trajan in 376, according to Amm. Marcell. XXXI. viii.

[1] That of Solway Frith at the west and the estuary of the Tyne at the east.

[2] Bas-relief found in the ruins of the *Vallum Hadriani.* (C. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 358.) On the Genius of the camp, see *Hist. of Rome,* vol. iv. p. 35.

he caused to be carried out there[1] from the one sea to the other were of three kinds.

First of all, as the first obstacle opposed to an assailant, a ditch of an average breadth of thirty-six English feet, and depth fifteen, and at certain points dug in the hardest rocks, sandstone-grit, limestone, or basalt, which it never avoided, in order to follow continuously the second line of defence, whose approaches it covered. Sometimes, however, it disappeared on the ridgeway of steep hills, where it was no longer necessary. On the contrary, on the plain and in threatened positions, it was protected by a glacis or parapet formed out of the materials furnished by the excavation, the crest of which, at certain points, was raised twenty feet above the floor of the ditch. The earth of which the parapet was made, six to seven feet high, was, at different distances, strengthened by stone bonds.

Behind this first obstacle arose a wall of masonry, of which are still to be seen the substructure or the remains, six to eight feet broad, sometimes ten, twelve to fifteen feet high, and dominated by watch towers, four in number to each mile, which gives about 300 in all for the whole construction; the walls of these little towers were three feet thick. On the south face of the stone rampart had been constructed, a mile apart, eighty redoubts or guard posts, sixty feet wide, with a door opening southwards for the ordinary use of the garrison, and sometimes one opening to the north, in the wall also, for sorties and the defence of the ditch. Such was the excellence of the mortar employed that time would have effected no change, and at this hour all would be still standing if the hand of man had not overturned it.

By an excess of precaution and in order to check enemies from the interior, or bands of men who might have crossed, after some successful *coup de main*, the first defences, another fosse, between two embankments of earth of unequal height, protected the entire fortification on the south, so that the

[1] "Through rocks of sandstone, limestone, and basalt" (Collingwood Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, p. 55, 3rd edit. 1867, a very fine work which the Duke of Northumberland has promoted with the usual liberality of the English nobility). At the descent from the heights of Carvoran to Thirlwall the fosse is 40 ft. Eng. at the surface, 14 to the bottom, 10 deep.

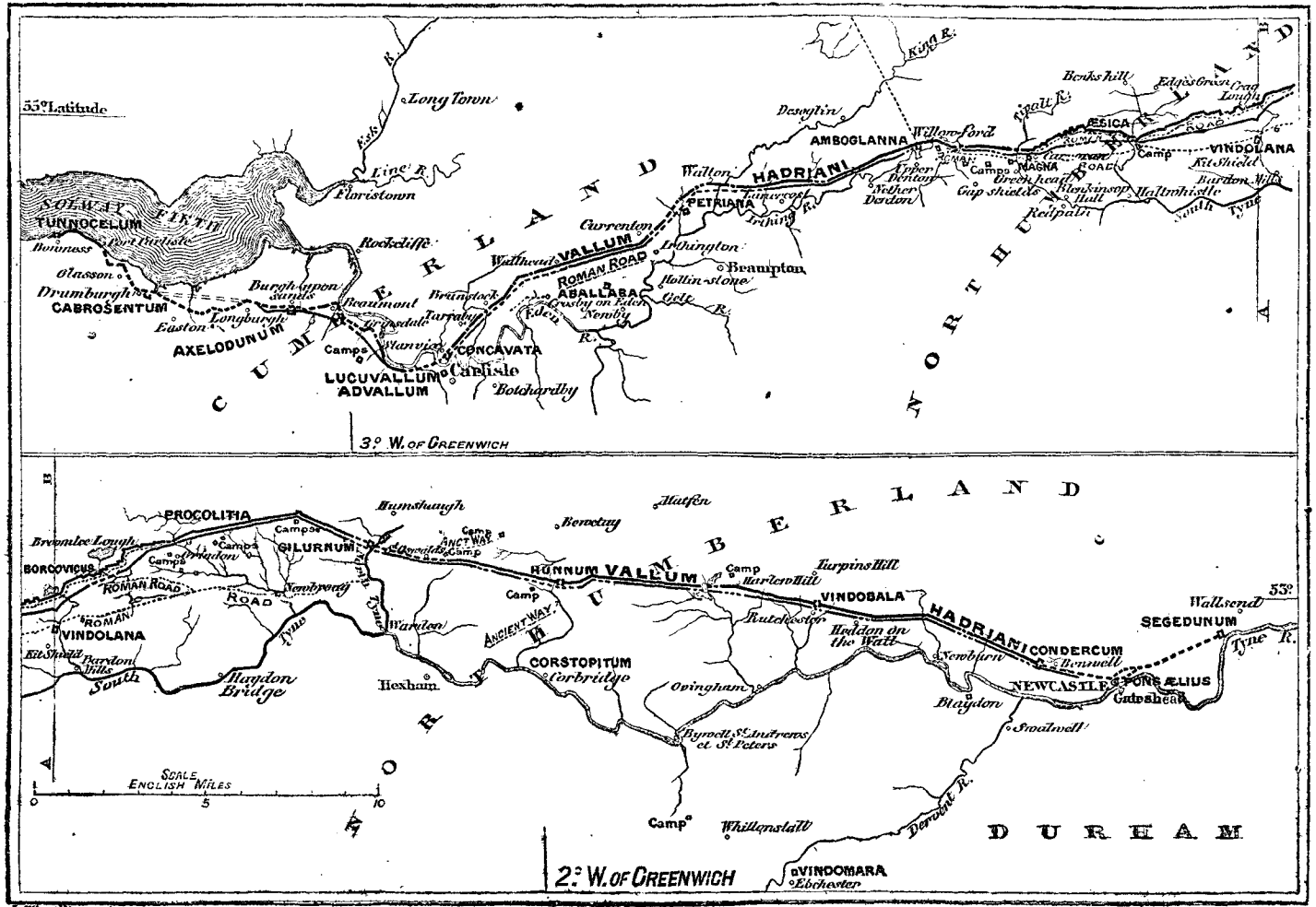


Chart (from Bruce) of the Vallum Hadriani.

garrisons of the towers and redoubts, assailed in front and rear, might present a double front.

Between the north wall and the southern *epaulement* ran a military road, near which were fixed, in the most favourable positions and always near a water supply, seventeen entrenched camps, *castra stativa*, which could furnish mutual support since they were distant from one another on the average only six kilomètres. They were surrounded by a stone wall five feet thick, and resting for support against the great wall; some of them in fact formed a projection beyond towards the north. The southern rampart was lined by a walk all round, so that all the movements of troops took place under cover. Lastly, a military road coming from the south, that is to say, from the point where the legions

Section of the *Vallum Hadriani*.[1]

used to land, was constructed or repaired by Hadrian; near Leicester a milestone has been found bearing his name.

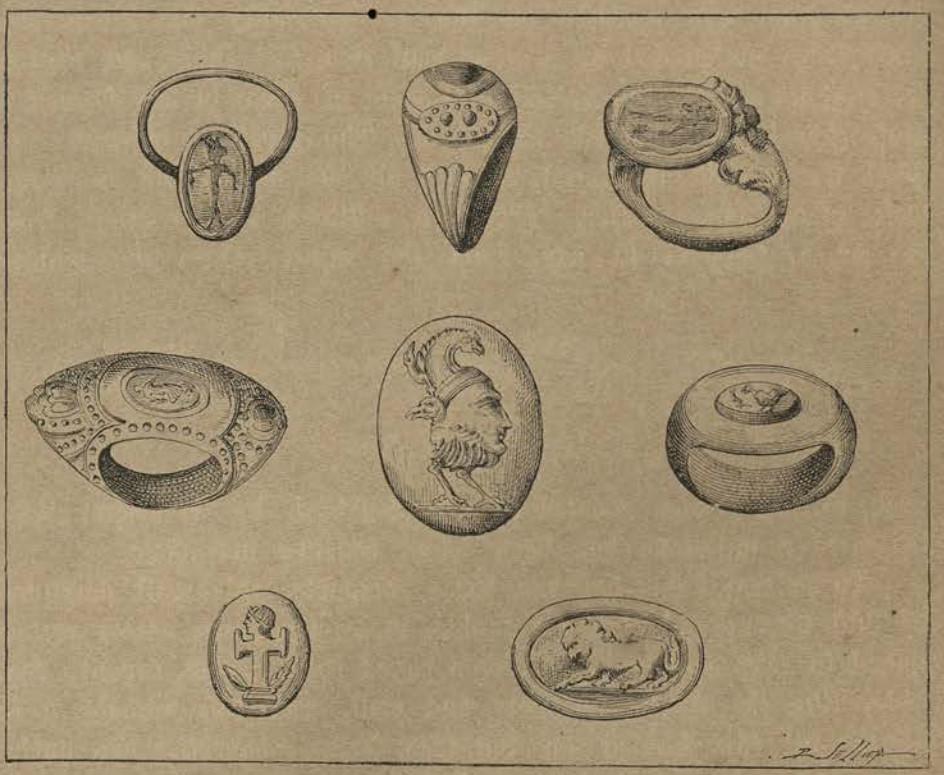
These two fosses between three ramparts, this wall defended by 300 towers and eighty redoubts, these seventeen *castra stativa* placed in easy communication by a paved road, which, seventy feet wide, like the fosses, parapets and wall, was 100 kilomètres in length—all this formed an immense fortress covering the entire delta, and such as no other people has ever raised. Consequently, when looking on this colossal work carried out on the least seriously menaced frontier, we must feel obliged to acknowledge a rare display of energy in the Romans of the Empire, who were able to impose such works on themselves in order to free the most distant of their subjects from the slightest disquietude.

Three legions,[2] assisted by a number of auxiliary cohorts, and without doubt also by many of the natives, seem to have rapidly executed this work, which, according to the calcu-

[1] A sad interest attaches to this drawing, which was made by the late Prince Imperial of France.

[2] There has been found along the wall many inscriptions bearing the names of the legions *IIa Augusta*, *VIa Victrix*, *XXa Valeria Victrix*.

lations of an English writer, required near upon 3,000,000 days' work (2,865,671); so that in reckoning 25,000 workmen, or 250 men per kilomètre, it would have been completed in four months.[1] The whole distance from one sea to the other had been divided amongst the cohorts, and it devolved on each



Rings and Engraved Stones found in the Ruins of Hadrian's Wall. (Bruce, pp. 136, 200, and 428.)

to dig the fosses, raise parapets and wall, on the portion of ground which had been assigned it, so that there was as much emulation between the workers as is seen on a day of battle between combatants.[2] Among these workmen were to be found even Dacians, who, under the name of the Ælian cohort, which Hadrian had given them, had come from their distant native

[1] Collingwood Bruce, p. 95. He reckons only 10,000 workmen and thinks that, at 200 working days per annum, it would have taken two years to finish entirely.

[2] Bruce (p. 49) also explains the differences of construction, the wall being, in certain places 5½ ft. thick, in others more than 10. To get on faster some centurions made their part of the wall slighter. On the south face of the wall marks are still seen which are supposed to indicate the different sections.

land to aid the Romans in consolidating a domination to which they had themselves just submitted.[1] A strong castle, *Pons Ælius* (Newcastle), was built at the eastern extremity of the rampart, and a flotilla with a cohort of marines stationed there.

But did this work belong entirely to Trajan's successor?

Stone commemorative of the Legion *IIa Augusta*, found at the foot of the *Vallum*. (Bruce, p. 137.)

Had not Agricola before him, Septimius Severus later on, Theodosius and Stilicho also raised the wall and the south *vallum*? First of all, these defences, all the parts of which afford mutual protection, reveal a single author, since they form parts of a single plan;[2] next, no inscription found in these parts is anterior to Hadrian, while several, discovered in the redoubts which form

[1] A quantity of inscriptions have been found relative to the *cohors Ælia Dacicorum* near the *Vallum*. On the mixed assemblage of men of all countries of which a Roman army was then made up, see (*C. I. L.*, vol. vii. No. 1,195) the military diploma extracted from the decree by which Hadrian granted, in 134, the privileges of the *honesta missio* to the veterans of six *alæ* and twenty-one *cohortes*.

[2] The savant who has most carefully studied the *Vallum*, Mr. Bruce, thinks that Severus simply repaired these works. It is worth noting that two writers contemporary with Septimius Severus, and the two principal historians of that age, Herodianus and Dion Cassius, who were cotemporaries, do not say a word of any wall that he erected in Britain; it is a century later that Spartian attributes it to him.

part of the wall[1] and in the *castra stativa*,[2] bear his name. The coins lead to a similar conclusion. In a bronze vase brought to light in 1837 were found three gold pieces and sixty denarii, several of which bear Hadrian's effigy and not one which is posterior to him. Lastly, an inscription, unfortunately much in-

Silver Plate found in the Ruins of the *Vallum Hadriani*.[3]

jured, seems to be the fragment of a letter addressed by him to troops posted between the two seas, to congratulate them on having without a murmur yielded to the necessity which prevented them from carrying the limits of the Empire to the end of the world, and on having protected the frontiers which the Republic had acquired.[4]

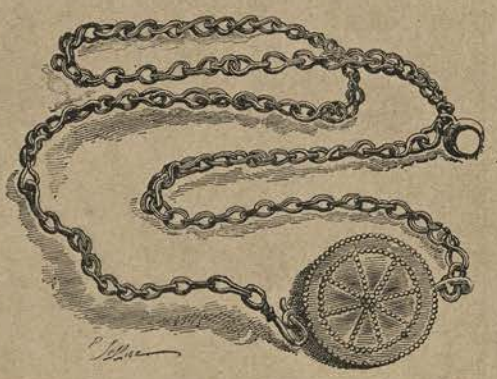
[1] *C. I. L.*, vol. vii. Nos. 660–663, and 835.

[2] *Id., ibid.*, Nos. 362, 730, 748.

[3] The goddesses represented are, from left to right, Diana, Minerva, Juno, Vesta. Apollo, at whose feet is the lyre, is standing upright before a portico. (Duke of Northumberland's Collection.—C. Bruce, p. 341.)

[4] This is at any rate the sense given to these fragments by Hübner. (*C. I. L.*, vol. vii. No. 498.)

It is, of course, obvious that we cannot fix a date for the antiquities, chains of gold, rings, engraved stones, stone bullets, and *débris* of every sort found in the *Vallum*. The legions carried with them, into the most savage countries, Roman life with its comforts and needs. One of the most imperious of these was that of possessing baths where could be always found water of all temperatures: hot in the *caldarium*, tepid in the *tepidarium*, cold in the *frigidarium*, and hot air in the arched chambers of the hypocaust.

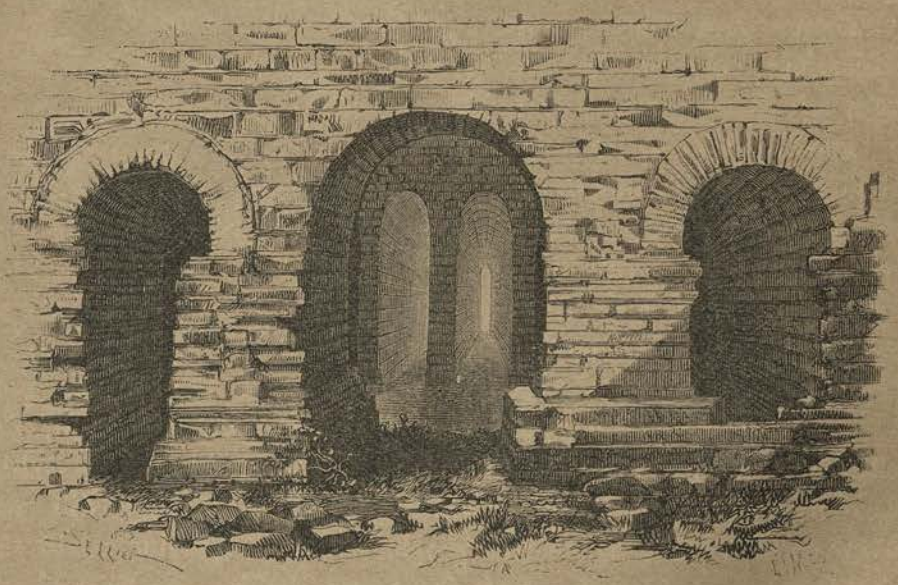


Gold Chain found in the *Vallum*, near Newcastle. (Bruce, p. 427.)

There were these great fortifications only in the provinces of Europe, where were the most dangerous enemies, and during half a century the Caledonians, Germans, Sarmatians, "struck," to speak in the words of Dion, "with a respectful fear," did not dare to pass them. In Africa the Atlas mountains and the Sahara protected the Roman towns, which at that time, as at present, the nomadic tribes had need of to obtain subsistence, without wishing to settle in them, and which consequently they did not threaten. Nevertheless, as the people of these provinces and the mountaineers of Kabylia had inveterate habits of brigandage, the Empire established on the roads which they formed, and at the head of the valleys where colonization was developed, a crowd of military posts which astonish our officers by their number and the judicious selection of their positions.[1]

[1] Dureau de la Malle (*Prov. de Constantine*, p. 32) points out, on the route from Bona to Constantine, traces of two kinds of military posts: 1st, small posts for twenty men, arranged 1,000 mètres apart, with a parapet of three to four feet high in hard hewn stone; 2nd, more important posts, a sort of entrenched camp, distant sixteen kilomètres from one another and furnishing the garrisons of the intermediate posts. De Vigneral, captain on the staff (*Ruines romaines d'Algérie, 1re partie*, p. 80), who considers these observations too absolute, has, after an attentive study, stated on the other hand, that the Romans, for the protection of the valleys which stretch along the foot of the Djurjura, have enveloped these mountains with a belt of posts established at a height of from 300 to 400 mètres; in the circle of Guelma alone he has recovered the position of an infinite number of military ruins, mostly of the Byzantine period, but concealing more ancient remains.

In Syria another desert rendered fortresses unnecessary; and in Asia Minor, a good army under able chiefs, a people sedentary and pacific, and, lastly, a skilfully preserved peace with local princes, gave full security to the Empire. But the Euxine, fringed with barbarous nations, could furnish access by them to the Roman provinces. To prevent the attacks of pirates, a fleet kept watch over this sea, and fortresses placed in *échelon* on the south coasts from Trebizond to Dioscurias or Sebastopol, in Colchis, kept in check the population along the shores.



Remains of a Hypocaust or Steaming-room in one of the Camps of the *Vallum*.
(Bruce, *ibid.*, p. 352.)

Hadrian's confidential officer in this region was one of his most worthy lieutenants, Arrian of Nicomedia, who has left some important works, and among others a circumnavigation of the Euxine. Hadrian had asked for this survey of the Black Sea shores; the general made it himself, notwithstanding the labour entailed; and the *Periplus* is nothing less than his own report, the exact date of which, however, has not been determined. In it he describes the lines of the coast, the harbours, the rivers navigable and those not so, even the saltness of the water and the direction of the prevalent winds. He enumerates the towns, the neighbouring peoples, the tribes of pillagers whom he

promised to exterminate, the kings who held their crowns[1] from Hadrian and whom he confirmed in their allegiance. At the mouth of a river he has pointed out to him, without being convinced, the anchor of the ship Argo, and he is no more ready to believe the myth of Prometheus when he was shown in the distance the peak of the Caucasus where the Titan had been chained. But if the past interests him but little, the present occupies him much. When he comes to a fort he makes its garrison[2] manœuvre before him, he examines everything attentively, and above all, sends in a report, which this Greek wrote in Latin because he was engaged in an official correspondence.[3] When he returned into his own province he had circumnavigated this sea, had measured the distances, marked the stations, and made all, both friends and enemies, see that the Empire was on its guard.[4]

What Hadrian had desired to know he now possessed; and as we have seen, in the case of the *Vallum* in Britain, in what manner he fortified his frontiers, we learn by the *Periplus* what an amount of vigilance and activity he required of his generals. This proof being completed we have no further need to seek the cause for the world remaining in peace for half a century.

One of those peoples belonging to the Caucasus, who became later on very formidable, caused however a momentary disquietude. The Alani, after great ravages in Media and Armenia, threatened to invade Cappadocia.[5] Two legions were immediately set in motion, along with their auxiliaries and what we should call their artillery, and the Alani affrighted returned to their mountains. On this side Hadrian had besides useful allies, the kings of the

[1] See above, p. 15.

[2] . . . . Τοὺς πεζοὺς . . . . ἐγυμνάσαμεν (*Periplus*, 3).

[3] Cf. *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 782. We possess a military diploma delivered by Hadrian to a soldier of Lower Dacia, who was originally of Sebastopol. This city, a faithful ally of the Empire, was one of the cities which sent to the Panhellenium a statue of Hadrian, τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην (*C. I. G.*, 342). The kings of the Cimmerian Bosporus always put the image of the reigning emperor on their coins.

[4] It does not seem that, from Panticapæum to Byzantium, he followed the coast of the country of the Sarmatians and Thracians, a shore which was under the surveillance or the authority of the governor of Mœsia; but to complete his report he gives a short and very incomplete description of it.

[5] This government was the largest in the Empire, for it included Cappadocia, Pontus, and Lesser Armenia.

Iberians and Albanians. The Iberian Pharasman even determined to come to the banks of the Tiber to sacrifice in Jupiter's temple; and some Bactrians who appeared there as suppliants, renewed the spectacle, so dear to Roman vanity, of Oriental embassies.

Thanks to this foreseeing policy and to these formidable armies Roman life gained daily upon barbarism. The desert became alive from Damascus to Petra, and the nomad saw with surprise splendid monuments rising in places where he had been used to hunt the antelope and jackal. In Upper Egypt centurions watched the working of the porphyry quarries for the temples of Rome and Athens; in the Carpathians the emperor's freedmen directed the mining operations, and in Africa the Atlas passes were studded with military posts, in order that, in the Tell, labour might be secure. A large part of the Danube valley called itself Roman, that of the Rhine became so, and behind the entrenchments of the *Agri Decumates* the masters of the Germanic Walhalla sought to find a place in the Pantheon at Rome. On some monuments of this region has been read the name of a companion of Odin, the Hercules *Saxanus* (Sachsnôt), by the side of those of *Taranus*, the Celtic god, and of Mithra, the Oriental divinity—an evidence of that commixture of ideas which was at work to the very circumference of the Roman world. Was this force able to act further? Would the classic spirit, armed with all the polish of Greece, all the prudence of Rome, be able to carry its municipal institutions, its private law, its proud Stoical ideas respecting the dignity of man, into the midst of this uncertain floating world of barbarism? We cannot doubt it, if the military usurpers, by disorganizing Hadrian's army and finances, had not first of all expended, for civil war, the force and resources prepared against the barbarians; if, moreover, the imperial administration, everywhere taking the place of the action of the citizens, and penetrating even to the inmost folds of this great corporate body of Roman society, had not ended by freezing the sources of life. It is not an inexorable fate that governs the world and overturns empires; Hadrian's reign proves that wisdom, even of an ordinary kind, might have preserved all.

Hadrian bearing Helmet and Shield. (Statue found at Ceprano, and now in the Capitol, Room No. 21.)

II.—His Travels.

Let us now follow Hadrian in his journeys across the provinces. In 118 or 119 he had been recalled from the banks of the Danube to the capital by the conspiracy of the consulars; after a few months' stay at Rome and in Italy, he commenced his visit to the western provinces by Gaul and the banks of the Rhine (121). It is not known what he did in Gaul. He called together doubtless at Lyons, as we know he did in Spain, the deputies of the three provinces, for the fragment of an inscription mentions a vote of thanks passed by the assembly of the three Gauls. There remain to us, of his tour in the country, other official proofs of the gratitude of the people. These evidences are rightly enough suspected. Still they can be in some measure accepted, because it was part of Hadrian's policy to repress abuses and to attach the provincials to the Empire by the wisdom of his government. Now we have coins struck for him with the inscription: *To the Restorer of Gaul*, and the image of a woman fallen to the earth whom the emperor is assisting to rise. We know that he succoured in Gaul, as he had doubtless done elsewhere, all the infirm and needy soldiers.[2] He constructed highways, he erected in Nîmes, in honour of Plotina, a basilica, "an admirable work," the ruins even of which have disappeared; perhaps he began the amphitheatre and the aqueduct called *Pont du Gard*, which, as well as the basilica, were finished by Antoninus.[3] When he entered Cologne, he was able to recall

Arrival of Hadrian in Gaul. (*Adventui Aug. Galliæ.*)

Hadrian, Restorer of the Gauls.[1]

[1] RESTITUTORI GALLIÆ. Hadrian standing, assisting Gaul on one knee to rise. Large bronze.

[2] M. Caillet (*op. cit.*) thus corrects an incomprehensible expression of Spartian (*Hadr.*, 9): *Omnes causarios sublevavit.*

[3] There is still to be seen in the wall of a church near Tournon an inscription of the year 119, which the Rhone boatmen had dedicated to him (Millin, *Voyage dans le midi de la France*, vol. ii. p. 76). Orelli (No. 824) regards suspiciously the epitaph on his horse Borysthenes, which is said to have been found at Apt.

the fact that, twenty-three years before, he had been the first to bring to Trajan, in that city, the news of his adoption; he therefore knew these quarters, but we do not know what he did there. His biographer speaks only of a king given to a German people, of reforms carried out in the camps, of works executed on the frontier. We ask no more to assert that Hadrian continued Trajan's work in this direction; that on the Rhine, as on the Danube, he regulated the subsidies, and that he restrained the warlike ardour of the

The Amphitheatre of Nimes.

barbarians by showing them that if the Empire had no desire to extend its frontier at their expense, he yet intended to guard what it had intrusted to him.

His military cares did not cause him to neglect civil interests; even in the frontier provinces he desired to be furnished with an account of the works to be executed by the cities, of the supplies which were required for them; and when there was need of it, he granted those required.[1] The medals struck in commemoration of his stay in the provinces often represent him with a book, to signify his administrative vigilance.

[1] *Reditus quoque provinciales solerter explorans, ut si alicubi quippiam deesset expleret* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 11).

If the *Forum Hadriani* marked, on the map of Peutinger, near *Lugdunum Batavorum*, is of his foundation, one might conclude from it that after the inspection of the two Germanies he went by the country of the Batavi to reach the sea and Britain. He was summoned to this important island by the recent incursions of the Caledonians.[1] When Agricola had carried beyond the Cheviot Hills, as far as the Firths of Clyde and Forth, his line of defence, he had outstripped in the north of the island Roman civilization, which had not dared to follow it so far, and had not at least got beyond the environs of (York) Eboracum. Some bold pioneers had gone further, but their scattered homesteads were exposed to the sudden inroads of the mountaineers, who, passing between the posts, pillaged, killed, and had disappeared when the cohorts arrived. The latter, however, came up with them one day, but lost many lives in the encounter, and this confirmed Hadrian in the thought of leaving nothing to chance at such a distance from Italy. After having, in some successful fights, cowed the Caledonians,[2] he was determined to effect in Britain that movement of concentration which he had executed on the Euphrates. We have said how he did it. But in establishing his principal defence on the Tyne, he really abandoned all the country which extends from this river to the Forth, that is to say, from Newcastle to Edinburgh, and one might well be astonished that he should have consented to occupy only two-thirds of the island instead of completing the conquest of it by an effort which was certainly not beyond his power. An Englishman, Gibbon, gives us the reason of this: "The masters of an empire which contained the most smiling climates of the earth and the most fertile provinces, regarded simply with contempt mountains beaten by continual storms, lakes hidden by thick mists, and uncultivated valleys where the stag and the deer were chased by hideous naked barbarians." A Greek is still more contemptuous for that old England which, in our days, has held, for some time, the sceptre of the world:

[1] Spart., *Hadr.*, 11. A passage of Frontinus (*de Bello Parth.*) proves that there had also been a capture of arms by the Britons and massacres of the Roman soldiers. . . . *Quantum militum a Britannis cæsum.*

[2] Hence the medals with the inscriptions *Adventui Aug. Britanniæ, Exerc. Britannicus.* (Cohen, *Monnaies des Emp.*, vol. ii., Hadrian, Nos. 594, 784, 785.) See also Hübner, *C. I. L.* vol. v. p. 100, col. 1.

"The Romans have not cared to subdue the rest of Britain, the part which they hold being already almost useless to them."[1] Besides, when we recall the obstinate resistance made, even in modern times, by the Highlanders to the Scottish kings and by the latter to the English it will perhaps be considered that Hadrian had a twofold reason for not entering upon this attempt.

Britain holding a Sceptre.

"After having corrected many abuses[2] in Britain," he returned to Gaul and traversed it a second time, as far as the Pyrenees, to proceed to Spain, where he stayed a whole winter (122). He no doubt showed there his usual activity; but there remain of all this labour no other witnesses than fragments of inscriptions attesting that he improved some of the great roads, and an expression engraven on some coins: "To the restorer of Spain." We should be particularly curious to know what took place in the assembly of the representatives of all the Iberian cities which he convoked at Tarragona for the dedication of the temple of Augustus, rebuilt at his expense. Spartian speaks only of some lively reproaches which the emperor addressed to the citizens of *Italica*, his fellow countrymen, who, by culpable devices, tried to avoid enrolment.[3]

Hadrian and Spain.[4] (Large Bronze.)

We have seen that the ruin of the military spirit in the provinces was the inevitable consequence of the organization given by Augustus to his standing army. We know from Tacitus that the Gauls had for a long time lost the taste for arms; so also is the proof of the same change furnished by the Spaniards.

Spartian relates a danger which Hadrian encountered at Tarragona, and from which he extricated himself "not without

[1] . . . *οὐδὲν τῆς ἄλλης δεόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ εὔφορος αὐτοῖς ἐστιν οὐδ' ἣν ἔχουσι* (Appian, *Procem.*, 5).

[2] *In quæ multa correxit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 10).

[3] . . . *Delectum joculariter retractantibus . . . vehementissime, cæteris prudenter et caute consuluit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 12).

[4] RESTITUTORI HISPANIÆ S. C. Hadrian standing, raising up Spain kneeling, who holds an olive branch. Between them, a rabbit, "symbol of the many mines worked in Spain." (Greppo, *Voy. d'Hadr.*, p. 93, No. 2; Cohen, No. 1,074.)

MAP OF THE TRAVELS OF THE EMPEROR HADRIAN.

L. Thuillier Del.

Lithog. by Kelly & Co, London & Kingston.

Gravé par Erhard, 12, r. Dugueay-Trouin, Paris.

glory." One day when he was walking alone in a park adjoining the city, a slave belonging to his host fell upon him like a madman, sword in hand. Very vigorous and quick, he parried the blow, and seized the wretch, whom the guards who ran to the emperor's help would have torn in pieces: he was insane. The prince ordered the physicians to cure him, and not even to make a complaint to his master for having such dangerous servants. This story, which pleasingly shows Hadrian's moderation, is, without doubt, borrowed from his *Memoirs*. The affair may, therefore, have happened differently: at least let us learn from it that he attached importance to being regarded as having self-possession, which is the strength of a wise man, and the sense of justice which prevented him from looking on a madman as guilty.

Cadiz. Gold Coin with the Figure of Hercules, the principal divinity of Cadiz. (Cohen, No. 267.)

It is singular that, during this stay in Spain, Hadrian neither visited *Italica*, from whence he was sprung, nor *Cadiz*, his mother's native place.[1] That he should have resisted the natural desire to show the master of the world to those who knew his origin to be from a house of hardly consular rank implies some urgent necessity hastening his departure. Was it because of commotion again among the Mauri? Spartian says so, and a recently found inscription proves that the emperor went direct from Spain to Africa during the year 122, where besides he seems to have gone twice at least, for his allocution to the troops at Lambessa was in the year 128.

Mauretania.[2]

We know nothing of the first voyage; but as regards the second there remain some details which we shall insert here to avoid returning to Africa. For five years not a drop of rain had fallen in the oases. This fact, which is not extraordinary,

[1] "He loaded Italica with benefits and honours" (Dion, lxix. 10): later on, he himself asked the senate to grant this borough the title of colony (Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, xvi. 13), and an inscription speaks of his liberality to Bætica (Greppo, p. 95), after the eleventh year of his reign, because he bore then the title *Pater Patriæ*, which he accepted only in the year 128.

[2] Mauretania holding a horse by the bridle and carrying two javelins. (Large bronze, Cohen, No. 967.)

is always a calamity;[1] and, as on his arrival an abundance of rain fell it was looked on as a miracle, and the benefit was attributed to him, "which endeared him to the Africans." He gained their hearts by more real services: he put an end to the disorders of Mauretania, founded several colonies, or gave that title to some ancient *municipia*, *e.g.*, to *Thenæ* in the Byzacena, to *Zama* in Numidia; he repaired the great aqueduct which conducted the waters from Mount Zaghouan[2] to Carthage, and ordered the legion cantoned at Lambessa to finish the works of Mount Aurasius—a way running along the heights and at the entrance of each gorge, and a small fort to defend the passage.[3] The system was that of the *Vallum Hadriani*, with this difference, that the mountain took the place of wall.

The cities followed the example given them, and great efforts were put forth to adorn the towns or facilitate communications between them. Thus, an inscription informs us that at this period *Cirta* constructed, at its own expense, all the bridges on the road leading from its walls to Rusicada (Philippeville), that is to say, from Constantine to the sea. Let not the reader complain that we collect facts of no importance. We are in the position of the naturalist, who has no right to neglect the least remains of an extinct animal, because it will perhaps reveal to him what the animal was in its entirety, its form, its organs, even its mode of life. For want of more extensive evidence let us recall again the expression of Spartian: "He loaded the African provinces with benefits," and this inscription on many coins: "To the

[1] It rains annually on the littoral, but the Sahara sometimes remains for seven years and more without rain.

[2] The town of Zaghouan rises at the foot of a mountain of the same name, in a charming country, on the ruins of an ancient city. A Roman triumphal gate, of which there remains only an arcade of four mètres' span, serves as entrance. The temple of Zaghouan is above one of the principal sources which feed the aqueduct to Carthage. The name of the divinity to which this temple was consecrated has disappeared with the frieze bearing the dedicatory inscription. It is thought that the edifice is of the same date as the aqueduct, that is to say, that it was commenced under Hadrian and finished under Septimius Severus.

[3] M. Léon Renier has found at Lambessa a large number of inscriptions of this legion from the reign of Hadrian to that of Constantine. It was there doubtless a long time before Hadrian (cf. Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 97; iv. 48, 49), and has left traces of itself or the funeral inscriptions of its veterans in many places in Numidia, in Aurasius, and even in the oases. There have just been found (1881) two military boundary stones, revealing the existence of a road made by the *IIIa Augusta* between Simittu and Thabraca, across the country of the Khroumirs. (*Rev. arch.*, 1881, p. 223, and *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1881, p. 76.)

Roman Remains at Zaghouan.

Restorer of Africa." Later on we shall see what these words must imply.

The emperor returned from Africa to the capital, and it is conjectured that he stopped there in 120 for the anniversary of the foundation of Rome. Towards the end of the year 122 he was already on his way to the East, which the Parthians were threatening. Hadrian invited Chosroës to an interview, and all was set at rest (122 or 123). He sent him back his daughter, who had been made prisoner by one of Trajan's generals, but refused to restore to him the massive gold throne of the Arsacidæ, a trophy which was, in the eyes of the Romans, what the ensigns of Crassus had been to the Parthians. Under similar circumstances Trajan had haughtily rejected any advances and explanations, forced the Parthians to a war which they did not desire, and, after much bloodshed and many cities destroyed, he had retired, conquered by a region stronger than his genius. Hadrian pacified the East without unsettling it by the shock of arms, and without making ruins there. Which of the two was the better policy?

Hadrian, Restorer of Africa. (Large bronze, Cohen, No. 1,053.)

Medal commemorative of the Foundation of Rome.[1]

He appears to have stayed three or four years (122–125) in the Eastern provinces, to which he returned in 129. It being impossible to distinguish what he did in these countries during each of these tours, we shall defer till the second[2] the few facts of which we shall have to speak.

Towards the end of the year 125 he went in the direction of Greece by traversing that glittering sea of the Cyclades,[3] where the navigator has always in sight some island with a

[1] ANN. DCCCLXXIIII NAT. VRB. P. CIR. CON. S. C. Year of Rome 874 (120 A.D.). ANNo NATali VRBis Primum? CIRcenses CONstituti. Woman seated, holding a wheel in her right hand and in the left three obelisks. Large bronze. (Cohen, No. 660.) This wheel cannot be that of inconstant Fortune, since the medal was struck to attest the constancy of Roman grandeur. It must be an imitation of the Oriental symbol which made this sign a representation of divinity. This symbolism will be explained in the last volume.

[2] This second tour in Asia is in reality the third, because after his accession he had slowly traversed the Oriental provinces from Antioch to the Adriatic, *per Illyricum*.

[3] *Post hæc per Asiam et insulas ad Achaiam navigavit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 13). Eusebius (*Chron.*

sonorous name, full of poetical recollections. He crossed it leisurely, stopping at those places on which history or art has put an ineffaceable mark. Famous temples, pictures, and celebrated statues, the scenes of ancient exploits—he wished to see everything, and charmed their artistic populations by this homage rendered to objects of national pride. Athens, "in which one feels an eternal breath of youth and beauty,"[1] did not possess a citizen who would more frequently go up the Pnyx to seat himself on the top of the quarried rock which had been Demosthenes' platform, and from whence the eye could contemplate with ecstasy the entire city, the half of Attica, the sea which sparkles towards Salamis and Epidaurus, whilst the Propylæa and the Parthenon dominate with their sovereign beauty this marvellous whole.

Hadrian, Restorer of Greece. (Large bronze, Cohen, No. 1,050.)

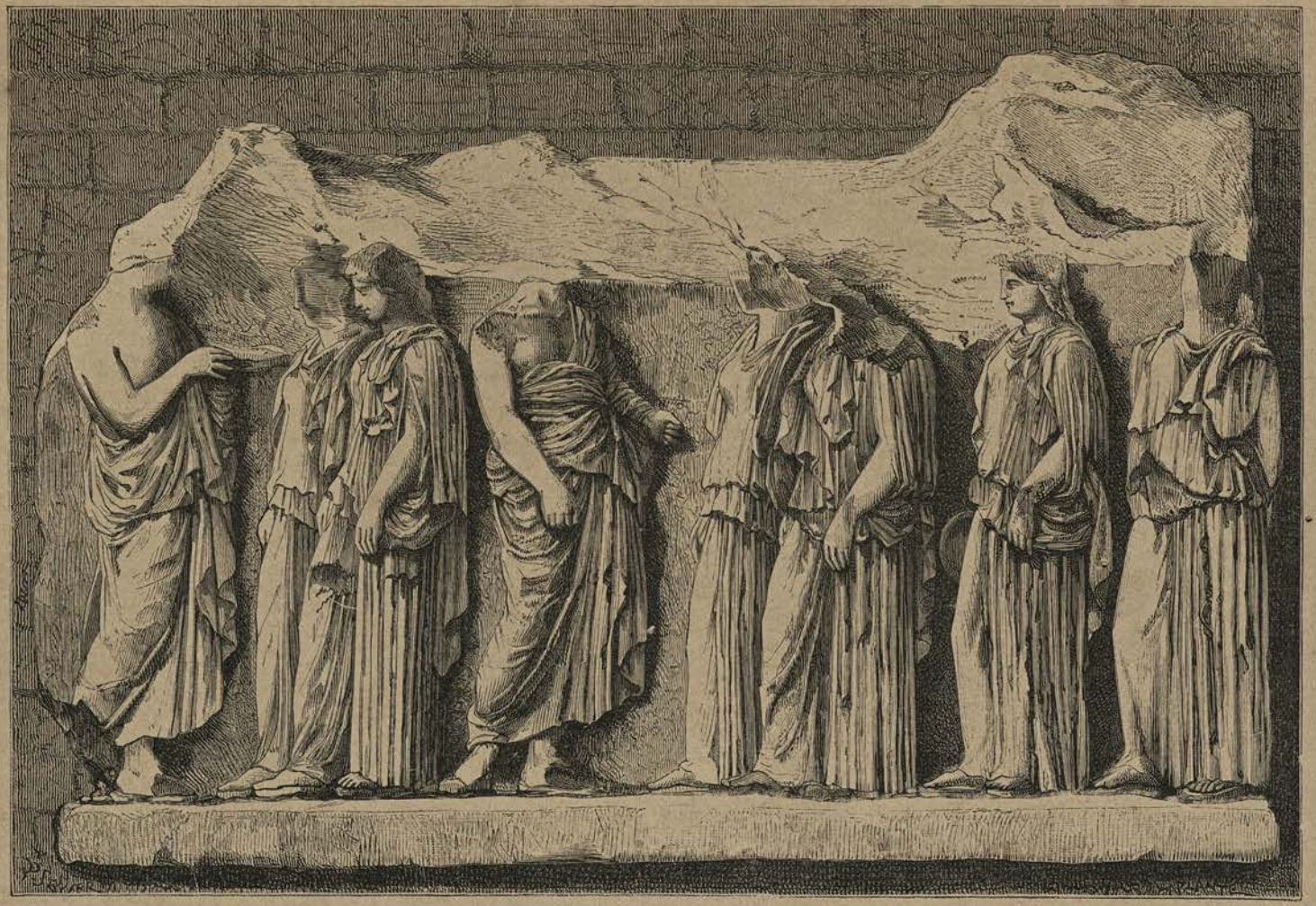
He returned to Italy after the winter by way of Sicily (126). At Antioch he had ascended by night Mount Casius,[2] to see the sun rise in the east out of the morning mists; he did the same at Etna. Do we not feel him one of our contemporaries ascending the Righi to contemplate one of those harmonies of earth and sky, the sight of which has become a want to minds worn out by the cares of too confined and laborious a life? The ancients did not possess this taste for picturesque beauty. The Greeks felt it from a poetical instinct; but many Romans would have willingly done away with the sea, the lakes, and the mountains which arrested their farming, or put obstacles in the way of their military roads.[3] Hadrian, whose busts present a physiognomy so little Roman, no more belonged to his time, by this trait of his character, than he did by his method of ruling.

ad ann.) makes him pass at Athens the winter of 125-126, and Franz (*C. I. G.*, vol. iii. No. 6,280) accepts this date.

[1] Albert Dumont, *Éphébie*, i. p. 118, after Plutarch. [The sea is not visible from the Pnyx.—*Ed.*]

[2] The Djebel-Okra, which rises over 6,000 feet.

[3] Not including Lucretius, Virgil, and sometimes Horace, who had a deep love of nature, the rest did so but little, though entirely covering with villas the slopes of the Apennines and the coast of the Bay of Naples. In the long descriptions which Pliny has left us of his country houses, we see especially his preoccupation for ease, and much bad taste.



Panathenæa: Frieze of the Parthenon, in the Museum of the Louvre.

Those never-ending tours, those travels from the Euphrates to the Thames, from the Danube to Mount Atlas, astonished the luxurious Romans, and wounded their pride as being masters of the world. It did not appear right in their eyes that the prince ought to show so much solicitude for the conquered. The poets used to laugh at it: "No," said one of them, Florus, "I should not like to be Cæsar, to have to pass through the country of the Britons, to have to suffer the frosts of Scythia." And Hadrian replied to them: "And I should not like to be Florus, to haunt the city taverns, to bury myself in the beershops and suffer there the bites of gnats." Rome received with coldness a prince who neglected it, and desired neither its festivals nor its honours, not even its consulate. From 119 to his death, in 138, he did not once assume the fasces;[1] nearly always did he disdain to put on the coins his title of tribune[2]—a sign, nevertheless, of his sovereign power; only after he had reigned eleven years did he accept that of *Pater Patriæ*,[3] and only once was he proclaimed *imperator*.[4]

Hadrian, *Pater Patriæ*. (Silver Coin struck at Alexandria.)

What motive determined him to set out again? Was it this coldness, or the fear of the plots, or the thoroughly decided resolution of this provincial emperor to live for the provinces, and to satisfy his own tastes at the same time that he fulfilled his duties? We do not know; but after a stay at Rome, the length of which cannot be fixed, he left the city to revisit Africa (128); then he returned to the East,[5] and stayed afresh in Greece (129). As we possess the work of another great traveller, almost his contemporary, who travelled about this country when the recollection of Hadrian was still fresh, we shall, by

[1] He had been consul under Trajan in 108; he was so only twice besides after his accession in 118 and 119.

[2] What makes the chronology of this reign so confused is that the years of the emperors are counted from the date of the years of their tribunitian power. The first commenced on the day of their accession, *dies imperii*, the second and all the others on the 1st January of the following years.

[3] In 128. Eckhel, *Doctr. num. vet.*, vi. 515 *et seq.*

[4] In 135, after the war against the Jews (see *Henzen*, No. 5,457).

[5] *Cum, post Africam Romam redisset, statim ad Orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 13).

his means, understand what those words of Spartian imply which he repeats regarding each province where the emperor stayed: "He loaded it with his gifts." In telling us what the prince did in Greece, Pausanias will inform us what he must have done elsewhere.[1] Yet we ought not to expect to find there either works of fortification or the construction of military roads, use-

The so-called *Bema* of the Pnyx of Athens (p. 54).

less in a country situated in the heart of the Empire, where no legion was stationed.

At Corinth he constructed baths in several quarters of the city, and an aqueduct which brought the water from lake Stymphalus;[2] at Nemea, a hippodrome. He restored its glorious name to Mantinea, built a temple to Neptune there, and put an inscription on the tomb of Epaminondas, which he had himself composed. In Phocis, he presented Hyampolis with a portico, and Abæ with a sanctuary of Apollo to replace the great temple, which was burned by the Thebans in the sacred war, five centuries before. To the Argeians he gave as an offering for

[1] . . . . *ejus itinerum monumenta videas per plurimas Asiæ atque Europæ urbes* (Fronto, *Princ. hist.*).

[2] He constructed another aqueduct at Dyrrachium. (Heuzey, *Mission de Mac.*, p. 387, inscr. 172.)

their temple of Juno the favourite bird of that goddess, a peacock in gold, the tail of which sparkled with precious stones, and he permitted them to re-establish the horse-races of the Nemean Games, which had fallen into desuetude. Lastly, between Corinth and Megara he widened the Scironian way, a foot-path, along which, after him, two chariots could pass, and on the high road from Eleusis to Athens he rebuilt a bridge which the Cephissus had carried away.[1] We should know much more if we possessed the inscription placed in the Pantheon at Athens, which enumerated the temples raised by him or enriched by his offerings, all his acts of munificence in the country of his choice, and even his acts of liberality towards barbarous cities.

But there was one spot in Greece which he preferred to the whole country, the city of Athens, which he wanted to make the capital of Hellas and of all the Hellenic East. The Athenians believed themselves to have returned to the best days of their history when they saw the master of the world, wearing the Greek dress[2] and making himself their fellow citizen, seriously fulfilling his duties as archon[3] and umpire at the games, presiding at their Eleusinian mysteries, and placing upon Miltiades' tomb the statue which they had forgotten to place there.[4] Eusebius says they asked him for a constitution which preserved the assembly and the popular tribunals, but stated precisely the prerogative of the senate as judge in disputed cases. He lived as a wealthy private man, accessible to every one, discussing with architects the plans of buildings, with philosophers questions of learning; sometimes he interrupted those peaceful pleasures by violent exercise—it might be a coursing match; and when evening was come, he celebrated in Greek verses, which we still possess, his perilous victory over a she-bear in the mountains of Thespiæ.[5]

[1] Doubtless Eleusis then began to build its Propylæa, discovered by M. Fr. Lenormant, and which were as large as those of Athens. If they were not the work of Hadrian, they were certainly the result of the impulse which he had given.

[2] "He never showed himself outside Rome with the insignia of sovereignty" (Dion, lxix. 10).

[3] His first archonship was in the year 112 (*Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, iii. 623, *ed. Didot*). There has been recently found in the theatre of Dionysus the base of the statue which had been erected to him as archon.

[4] Spart., *Hadr.*, 13. According to S. Jerome (*de Vir. illustr.*, 19) . . . *omnibus pene Græciæ sacris initiatus.* We shall see later on the inscription of the hierophant who initiated him into the Eleusinian mysteries.

[5] There was found, in 1870, near Thespiæ, an epigram in eight verses, very probably by

Athens once more became what it had formerly been—the leading school of Greece. It was once more called upon to give

The Arch of Hadrian, at Athens. (Cf. p. 63.)

lessons in oratory and composition; and rhetoricians and sophists hastened thither to seek that renown which procured for them

Hadrian, and of which M. Egger has given the following translations: "Young archer, son of Cyprus with the soft voice, who inhabitest Heliconian Thespiæ, near the flourishing garden of Narcissus, be favourable and accept the votive offering which Hadrian presents thee, for a she-bear, which from his horse he had the luck to slay. And in return mightest thou, as the wise god, breathe on him the grace which comes from Aphrodite Urania!" (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1870, p. 57.)

Portico of Hadrian at Athens.

riches, honours, even lucrative priesthoods, which were readily given to these brilliant talkers,[1] at the risk of intrusting the care of religious interests to those who were going to make solitude in the temples. The emperor took delight in their discourses, but was chiefly occupied in the great building operations on the plain of the Ilissus. As he travelled surrounded by architects and skilled workmen, organized as a legion, and divided into cohorts under experienced heads,[2] the work rapidly advanced; in a little time a new city arose near the ancient one, and the triumphal arch which still exists below the eastern point of the Acropolis bears these words engraven on one of its faces: "Here is the city of Theseus," and on the other: "On this side is the town of Hadrian." Hadrianopolis has, from the time of its origin, been decorated with numerous monuments which, unable to rival the severe grandeur of the temple of "the Virgin goddess," united at least all the architectural refinements of a period when art sought the beautiful in magnificence.

He was assisted in this work by the celebrated rhetorician, Herodes Atticus, the teacher of Aulus Gellius and Pausanias, whom, happily for us, his rhetoric had not led astray but his erudition had gained. Herodes built, or completed, in the new town, a bridge over the Ilissus, the Stadium, which he covered with Pentelican marble,[3] and on one of the hills which command it a temple of Fortune. He had founded a rich library: Hadrian surrounded it with porticoes supported by 120 columns of Phrygian marble, the walls were of the same material, the ceilings overlaid with alabaster or gold, the halls adorned with statues or valuable paintings. Near it he constructed a gymnasium with 100 columns of Lybian marble; further off, a temple of Juno. The Greeks, therefore, delighted with these favours done to their race, even with those which seemed to concern the Athenians[4] alone, placed

[1] Herodes Atticus was priest of the Olympieion. (See the inscription found by M. Lablache, *op. cit.*, p. 37). Aristides, his pupil, was the priest of Asia; Favorinus, that of the Gauls.

[2] Aurelius Victor, *Epit.*; xxviii.

[3] I saw, in January, 1870, the Panathenaic Stade nearly cleared of rubbish; the excavations furnished nothing. [I saw, in 1875, the new Olympic games celebrated there.—*Ed.*]

[4] He gave the Athenians, besides large sums of money, an annual allowance of corn, the island of Cephallenia, and an aqueduct which Antoninus completed the second year of his reign (Orelli, No. 511); he issued a decree to secure an oil supply for the city; the third of the whole crop in Attica was reserved for it. (*C. I. G.*, No. 355.)

a statue of Hadrian in the temple of Olympia, by the side of that which they had set up to Trajan, and built, in the new city of Athens, the *Panhellenium*,[1] a temple of Jupiter and Hadrian, near which annual games were to be celebrated in the presence of the deputies of the whole of Greece.

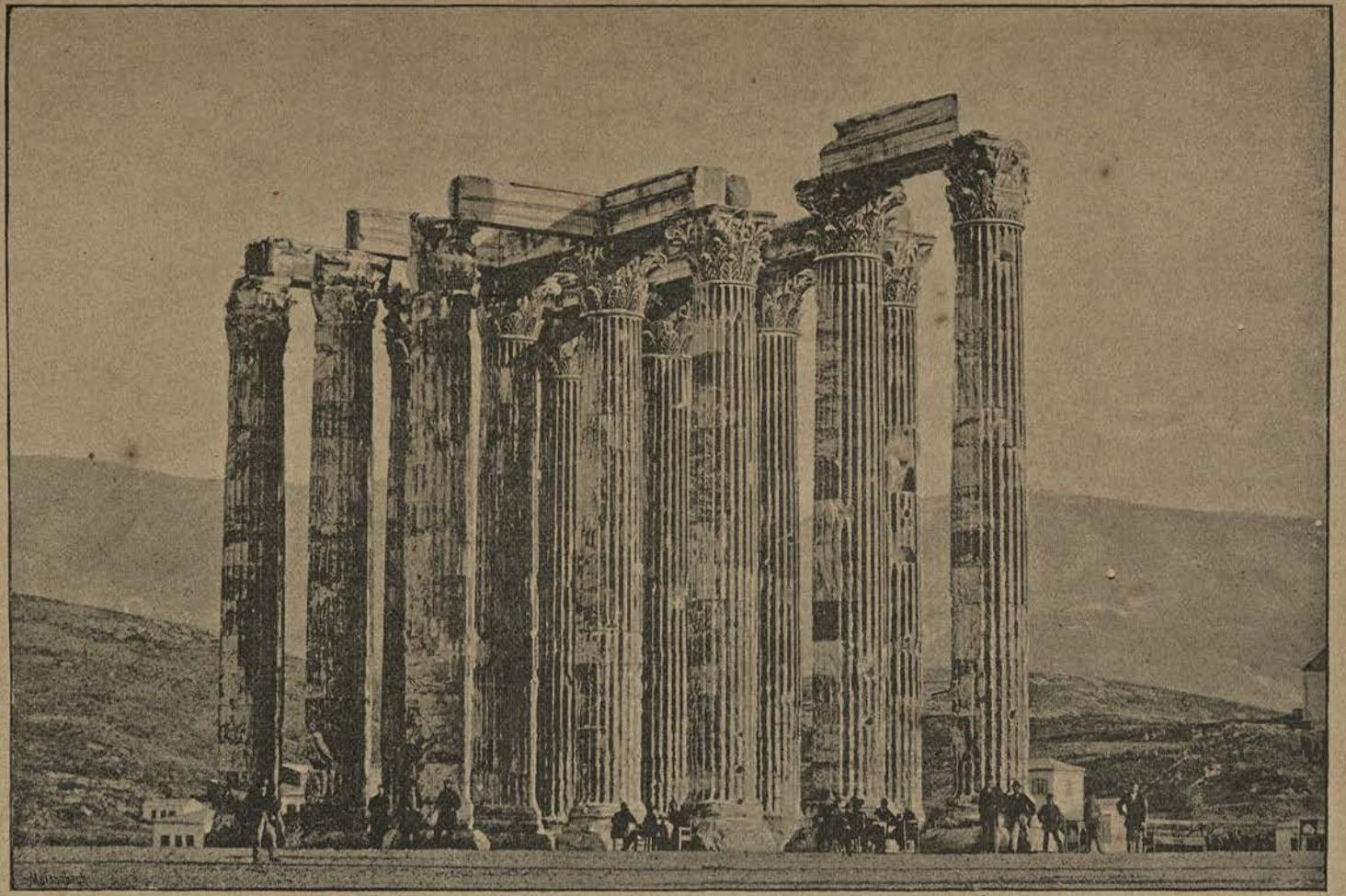
Juno (Villa Ludovisi).

For some time the Panhellenium appeared to be the political sanctuary of Hellas, as the temples of Rome and Augustus were at Tarragona and Lyons for the western provinces.[2] Some inscriptions belonging to the end of Antoninus's reign[3] show the Panhellenes in correspondence with distant peoples, even with the emperor. But the Greeks of that time were no longer capable of thinking of anything else but their pleasures. At Lyons our ancestors occasionally exhibited some political insight; I am afraid that at Athens only paltry passions were aroused and that only base flatteries were heard there. The subjection to the master was certainly more complete. Around the altar of Rome and Augustus the Gauls had at least set up the statues of their sixty cities, to

[1] The Panhellenium was consecrated to Jupiter Penhellenius, according to Pausanias (*Att.*, 18), to Hadrian, according to Dion (lxix. 16). Spartian also says (13) that Hadrian set up an altar to himself in Athens, *dedicavit . . . . et aram sibi:* opinions which will mutually agree if it is admitted that this temple answers to the political sentiment which, at Lyons and Tarragona, had caused those of Rome and Augustus to be erected. An inscription, discovered at Tegea, gave Hadrian the title of Zeus Panhellenius (*Inscr. de Morée*, i. p. 91).

[2] See *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 24 *et seq.*

[3] Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéologique, Ve partie*, Nos. 866-7.



The Olympieion (built by Hadrian) at Athens.

represent the Gallic nationality in the presence of the new divinities. This idea, which showed some greatness, never occurred to the Greeks. There were truly, at the Panhellenium, innumerable statues sent by the Hellenic cities of the continent, the isles, and the coasts of Asia and the Pontus Euxinus, but they were all images of the prince, as if he alone ought to fill earth and heaven. Was not he the true Panhellenian Zeus, the Olympian *par excellence?* At Athens there can still be read on the pedestal of

Bas-relief of the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens (in Front of the Stage).

the statue erected on this occasion by the *Dienses*,[1] the title which the Greeks had given him and which the whole East repeated: "Olympio."[2]

All these buildings and Hadrianopolis itself have disappeared; yet, when, while descending from the Propylæa the temple of Theseus is left behind, and when one passes round by the south the gigantic rock so nobly crowned with majestic ruins on the slope of the Acropolis, there is first of all seen the theatre of Dionysus, which preserves the seats of white marble, where sat

[1] *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 548. We have also those of Cephallenia, Amphipolis, Thasos, Abydos, Sestos, Sebastopol, Miletus, Cyprus, etc. (*C. I. G.*, Nos. 331 *et seq.*). The imperial medals are rare in Greece properly so called. It is to be noted that the imperial series of Elis, and very probably that of Argos, begin with Hadrian.

[2] *Abœ* had given him one of the titles of Jupiter, βουλαῖος, the good councillor, and his statue had been placed at Athens in the place where the senate held their sittings.

Pericles and whence Hadrian saw Menander's comedies; further off, in the valley of the Ilissus, fifteen columns, some isolated, others still united by their architrave, whose colossal proportions, rich carving, warm and golden tints, in relief from the azure of the sky, strike the beholder with astonishment and admiration, even close to the Parthenon. These columns are all that remain of the vastest temple in the Græco-Roman world, the *Olympieion*, begun by Pisistratus, continued by Augustus, and finished at the end of seven centuries by Hadrian.[1]

Why were these temples rebuilt or constructed? Was it from religious zeal? Certainly not. He felt little uneasiness for the great Olympians who were about to die; but he was an artist, and art having no finer form of expression than in temples, he built them; and he summoned sculptors and painters to decorate them, rhetoricians to discourse, philosophers to dream under their porticoes. If divinity was no longer present, human thought filled them; and this civilization of Greece was so beautiful, this *Roman peace* of the Empire was so grand, that it did not seem to him that a human soul could need anything else.[3]

Athens, the Acropolis.[2]

From Athens he reached proconsular Asia, which "appeared, in the midst of the immense garden of the Empire, the most favoured region." It was the land of the artists who raised all these monuments, and of the Sophists whose able eloquence would soon extinguish, even in Italy, the clear, simple genius of Latium. On their return from the voyage to Athens, these men opened schools in some one or other of the 500 cities of Asia, and soon they acquired wealth, and even power. Favorinus, at Ephesus; Aristocles,

[1] The inclosed area of the temple was 822 yards (Pausanias, i. 18, says four stadia); each column 6½ feet in diameter and nearly 60 feet in height (according to Penrose, 16·79 mèt.). Athens adopted on this occasion a new era dating from the dedication of the temple.

[2] Athenian (bronze) coin, in which the artist has aimed at uniting, but with little taste, the summit of the Acropolis, the grotto of Pan, which is on one of the sides of the rock, and the theatre of Dionysus, constructed at the base.

[3] Lampridius (*Alex. Sev.*, 43) writes: *Hadrianus . . . . templa in omnibus civitatibus, sine simulacris, jusserat fieri, quæ hodie, idcirco quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani.* One of these temples, at Tiberias, still bears, from the time of Constantine, the name of Ἀδριανεῖον. This passage of Lampridius says more about the true sentiments of Hadrian than the trite phrases of Spartian (*Hadr.*, 23) touching his official devotion, *sacra Romana diligentissime curavit . . . . pontificis maximi officium peregit.*

at Pergamus, were important personages, and Polemon ruled supreme in Smyrna: the senate listened to his counsels with deference, the crowd applauded his discourses. When he travelled his horses had silver reins, and behind his chariot marched an army of slaves. He obliged the rulers to take him into council. In the following reign we shall see in what fashion he treated the man who was by-and-bye to become the emperor Antoninus. But how could a proconsul of those days have resisted a favourite of the whole of the Greek East and of the prince, a man of whom another famous rhetorician, Herodes Atticus, said: "I have had Polemon for my master, when I myself was a master of eloquence." And he relates that on reaching Smyrna, his first visit was paid to Polemon: "My father, when shall we hear thee?" Known as a critical hearer, Herodes was astonished at the reply of the master: "This very day; come now and hear."[1] After so many ages of war, the world, tired with action, wanted no more than to know the intoxication of sonorous, harmonious, empty language. All the Greeks of Egypt were united under Antoninus to erect in Alexandria a statue to the rhetorician Aristides, as a mark of their admiration.[2] From Rome to Athens, from Athens to Smyrna, hence to Alexandria and Carthage, there ruled extempore eloquence,[3] a charming gift, which astonishes crowds and gains causes for a time, but is often fatal to true art and to thought. What will these facile composers of phrases have done before a century of ancient civilization has passed away? What are they already doing in Athens and Alexandria?

Herodes Atticus. (Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 167.)

In these provinces of Asia are to be found in a thousand places traces of Hadrian's passage or recollections of him: cities destroyed by earthquakes which he assisted to raise from their

[1] Vidal-Lablache, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 28; cf. Philostr., *Vitæ Soph.*, 13-18, *in Polem.*

[2] Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. 132.

[3] . . . . αὐτο σχεδίους λόγους (Philostr., ii. 3).

ruins;[1] cities aided and beautified which, out of gratitude, assumed his name, instituted games or struck medals in honour of "the saviour god," and "the restorer of the provinces;" temples and statues raised in his honour; harbours and roads constructed at his expense. There is not a district of the great peninsula where it appears the imperial traveller had not passed, who, by his gifts, his counsels, his example, aroused a noble activity and a generous emulation for all the works of civilized life. Thus the great gymnasium of Smyrna was built by means of a public subscription which Hadrian promoted or supported by himself, giving a very large sum,[2] and we still possess the list of subscribers.[3] It anticipated our system of encouragement to works of public utility by a subvention from the State. The same prevailed everywhere and throughout the whole period of the Antonines; thus is explained how the Empire appeared then as an immense busy workshop.

Let us cite some facts as they occur to us, since we cannot determine accurately either the dates or the itinerary.

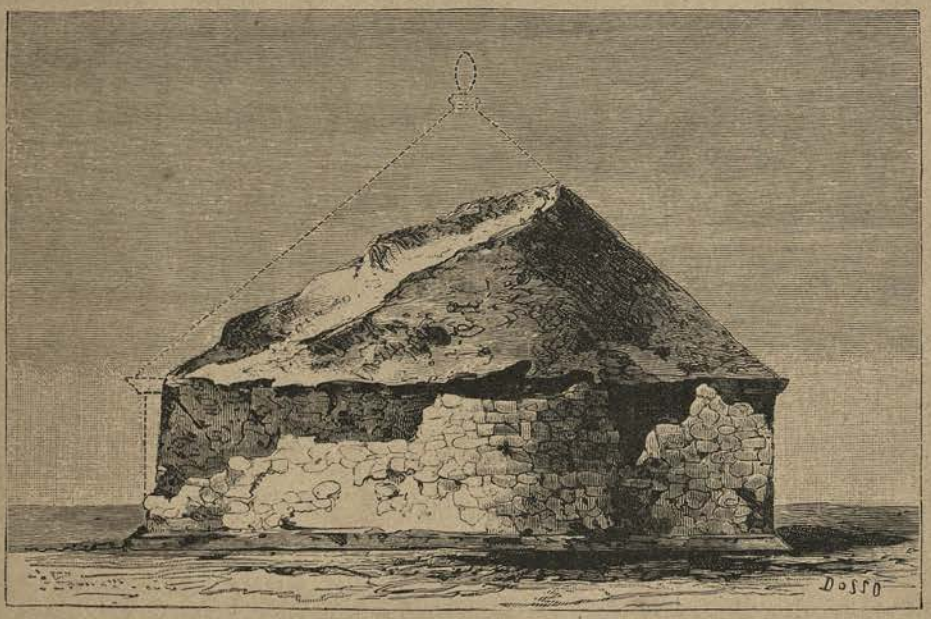
Doubtless Hadrian landed at Smyrna, "the Pearl of the East," and the real capital of smiling Ionia. Situated at the head of a gulf which rivals the finest gulfs in the world, on the slopes of a mountain still crowned by the ruins of an immense Genoese fortress, but where the Greeks had certainly placed a temple, surrounded by fertile lands traversed by Homer's stream, Smyrna was a magnificent vestibule by which to enter Asia, and the Roman governors always entered by it into their province. Hadrian had a great friend there, Polemon, who had lately delivered at Athens the discourse on the dedication of the Olympieion, and who had inspired the prince with a special friendliness for the city which was called in Oriental Greece, "the sanctuary of the Muses." This friendliness showed itself

[1] As Cyzicus and Nicomedia: *Terræ motu facto, Nicomedia ruit et vicinæ urbes plurimæ eversæ sunt. Ad quarum instaurationem Hadrianus de publico est largitus impensas.* (S. Jerome, *Chron. ad ann.* iv. *Hadr.*, and John Malala, *Chronog.*, p. 277.)

[2] Χιλίας μυριάδας (*C. I. G.*, No. 3,148).

[3] This practice, known under the name of *Ἐπιδόσεις*, was usual and ancient; see, *e.g.*, in Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. 389, a subscription list for the expenses of sacrifices and *fêtes:* Miller, *Revue archéol.* of 1870, gives a list for the erection of a temple, comprising perhaps 270 names.

in the numerous largesses, which served for the construction of several edifices, among others of a temple, as well as a gymnasium, which Philostratus declares to be the finest in Asia. The Smyrniotes gave him in return the titles of "Olympian, Saviour, Founder," and decreed in his honour "perpetual festivals," or "Hadrianic games." Miletus and all the other cities did the same. The sceptical prince knew well enough what to think of this Eastern bombast, which we are wrong to take literally; it



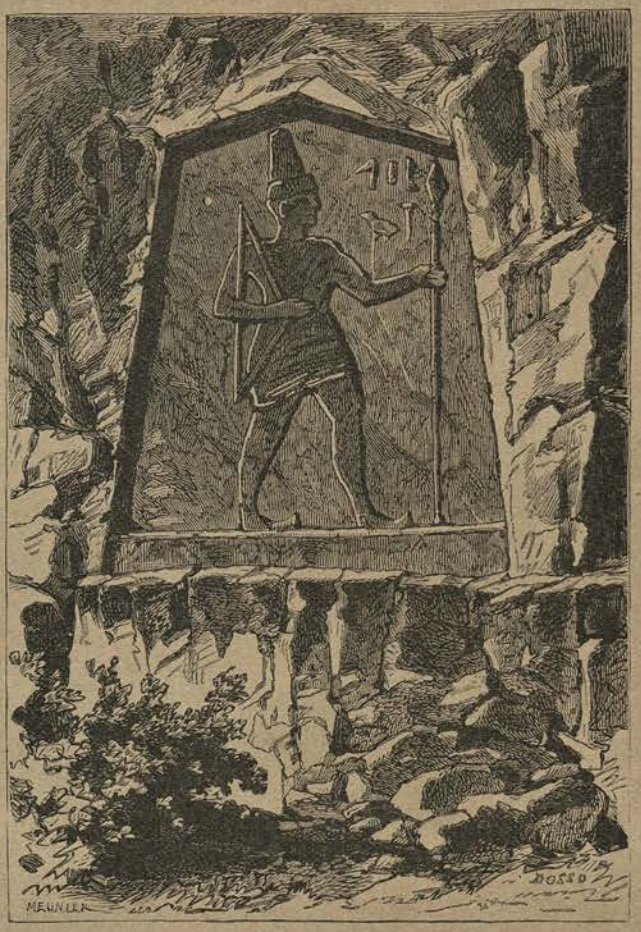
Tomb called that of Tantalus (after Texier, *Asie Mineure*, vol. ii. pl. 130).[1]

was the politeness of the time, and he was no more embarrassed by these formulas than by the notes of a musical melody which the winds bear away. Was he more affected by the medals which they struck with the figure of Antinous? I fear it.

In the environs of Smyrna are to be found two archæological curiosities which Hadrian certainly did not fail to visit: the tomb called that of Tantalus, half way up Mount Sipylus, which overlooks the gulf; and, a day's journey from the city, on the road from Sardis to Ephesus, the *Nymphæum*, where there is to be seen a bas-relief of which Herodotus speaks, and says that

[1] This tumulus of stones, with pointed arched sepulchral chamber, is 27 mètres high and 106 in circumference.

Sesostris had it sculptured there fifteen centuries before our era.[1]



The *Nymphæum*, near Smyrna (Texier, *ibid.*, pl. 132).

He visited Miletus, which has just given back to us some remains of a colossal structure found in the midst of the alluvial deposits of the Mæander, and the rich city of Ephesus, at that time so prosperous that it takes four hours to traverse the space covered by its ruins; yet the city had taken 220 years to rebuild the sanctuary of Diana. Hadrian erected there a temple

Diana of Ephesus (Face). Silver Medal.

Hadrian (Reverse). See vol. iv. p. 23.

[1] Kiepert, Rosellini, and M. Perrot (*Mém. d'Arch.*, No. 2) rightly believe that this monu-

to the Roman Fortune which all peoples worshipped, even in those parts where she had no altar. He passed through Lesbos and the Troad.[1] To please the admirers of the *Iliad*, although he did not admire it, he restored the tomb of Ajax and

Ruins of the Temple of Apollo, at Miletus (Texier, *ibid.*, pl. 136).

rendered great honours to the least amiable of Homer's heroes; to win over the inhabitants of Alexandria-Troas, he gave them an aqueduct which is still to be seen near Eski-Stamboul, and charged Herodes Atticus, one of the best speakers of the time, with the superintendence of its construction. It was already the

ment is not Egyptian. [It is now shown by Professor Sayce to be Hittite in character, and points to the conquests of that people, whom he has at last rescued from oblivion.—*Ed.*]

[1] An inscription of the year 124, found in the ruins of Ilium, seems to proceed from Hadrian also. (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 466.)

practice not to abide by the estimates. Atticus spent much more than Hadrian had promised. But the prince, liberal but not extravagant, a lover of order in everything, even in the expenditure of his friends,[1] approved his procurators who complained, and the excess of the expenditure was put to the account of the rhetorician.

Hadrian the Olympian. Coin struck at Cyzicus.[2]

He left with the inhabitants of Ilium something with which their vanity was, for a short time, more satisfied than with the aqueduct of Aristides: six verses in Greek celebrating the glory of their city and their courage: "Hector, son of Mars, if you hear me below ground, I salute thee. Be proud of thy country. Ilium, the famous city, is always peopled with men; they are not equal to thee, and yet they also are very warlike. The Myrmidons exist no longer. Go and tell Achilles: The whole of Thessaly is at the feet of Æneas's children."

Coin of Hadrianotheræ.[4]

At Nicomedia he had received the title of Founder with less flattery than elsewhere,[3] and Cyzicus built a temple to him, the imposing mass of which, as says the rhetorician Aristides,[5] was seen so far off that it replaced the signals which guided ships in their course. He stayed a long time in this region of Bithynia, which the Turks call "the sea of trees," and which reminds travellers of the most charming scenes in Switzerland: running waters, meadows still green under the July sun, numerous flocks, and here and there chalets of unsquared timber.[6] Hadrian, a great sportsman,[7]

[1] He was connected with Atticus, the father of Herodes, and he gave the son a mission in proconsular Asia

[2] AYT. KAIC. TPAI. AΔPIANOC OAYMΠIOC (*the Autocrat Cæsar Trajan Hadrian Olympian*). Bronze coin.

[3] See p. 71.

[4] AΔPIANOΘHPITΩN. Coin, in bronze, of the inhabitants of Hadrianotheræ. Head of a bear.

[5] We still possess the discourse which Aristides delivered on the day of the consecration of this temple, which took the place of that of Ephesus in the list of the Seven Wonders of the World.

[6] See the *Voyage en Galatie et en Bithynie*, by M. Georges Perrot. There is a manufacture in these chalets also, as in Switzerland, of a celebrated cheese.

[7] By the evidence of Spartian and Athenæus, he killed lions on several occasions, not

was charmed with this district full of game, and there founded two cities, one of which, called Hadrian's Hunts, Hadrianotheræ, preserved the recollection of one of his exploits: he had killed there an enormous she-bear, such as are still found on the slopes of Olympus.

In Cappadocia he bought a large number of slaves for the service of the camps, a measure which has been wrongly explained, for the legions were able to provide themselves everywhere with human merchandise. But the Cappadocians had been famous, in the best days of Athens, for their thick skulls as well as for their broad shoulders, and the country was nothing else than a vast slave market. Was it now or in his former tour that he visited Pontus and had, with the kings of the neighbouring countries, the intercourse of which we have made mention?[1] We can scarcely say. We must be satisfied with what Arrian[2] relates, that at Trapezus (Trebizonde) the emperor wished to view the sea from the same spot where the Ten Thousand had uttered their cry of joy when they recognized the Euxine and the end of their dangers. On this excellent site and to recall this double recollection a statue of the prince was set up, who, with extended hand, pointed to the sea, but perhaps also the temple of Mercury, which he gave to this commercial port, and the harbour which he had built for its ships, until that time without shelter in the bad season.

We do not know what happened to him in the capital of Syria, a large, rich, and dissolute city, which had very speedily recovered from the recent earthquake, and where it was not possible to keep a soldier three months without making him effeminate or seditious. Antioch probably annoyed him, as later on it did Julian, by the sarcasms of a vain, insolent population, equally incapable of being without a master and of keeping one. Hadrian, who had raised or helped to construct monuments of public utility in the city where he had assumed the purple,

only in the circus and in a secure spot, but in the chase with all its perils. More than once his life was in danger; once he broke his thigh and collar bone (?).

[1] See p. 14.

[2] *Peripl. Ponti Euxini*, 1. He must have made gifts in Pontus, for Neocæsarea (Niesara) and Amasia (Amasiah) took his name. Cerasus (Keresoun ?) commenced its series of imperial medals with him, and Amisus (Eski-Samsun) struck many silver coins bearing his image.

desired to limit the area of the district to which it served as metropolis,[1] by creating a second province of Syria, a project which seems not to have been carried out till Septimius Severus's time. He had read his fortune in the sacred Castalian fountain at Daphne; he closed this dangerous oracle.

Coin of Palmyra.[2]

Coin of Petra, struck at Damascus.[3]

Coin of Gerasa.[4]

Coin of Philadelphia.[5]

From Antioch he went to Heliopolis or Damascus, the limit of the Syrian language and nationality; beyond was the desert, the Arab race, tent life and the long troops of camel-drivers going to procure at Ctesiphon and on the Persian Gulf the commodities of Persia and India. The Roman world communicated with the Parthian empire by three routes: the one, in the north, with different branches, followed by the armies, cautious traders, and the isolated travellers directing their course towards Upper Mesopotamia; the second, to the south, across the desert and terminating at nearly the same point, towards the region where the Euphrates and Tigris united to fall into the sea, this was the route of the caravans. When they returned from the Lower Euphrates, according as they desired to reach the Mediterranean at Aleppo, to reach Asia Minor, or at Gaza to go down into Egypt, it went north-

[1] Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iv. 160–173. Later on they withdrew even the entire garrison from it: *ἡ δὴ ἀφυλακτός τε καὶ στρατιώτων ἐρημός ἐστι* (Procop., *B. P.*, i. 17). "He had made there," says Malala (*Chronograph.*, p. 362), "a public bath, an aqueduct bearing his name, and a theatre. By means of a strong dike he turned aside the waters which were spread out in the ravines and were lost to the city; this dike kept them in, in spite of their violence, and they were conducted near to the theatre, whence they were distributed into all parts of the city. He also caused to be built, near the sources of Daphne, a temple sacred to the Muses, where these springs formed five spouting fountains."

[2] ΠΑΛΜΥΡΑ. Victory holding a balance above a cippus. Bronze coin.

[3] ΠΕΤΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙC. Woman turreted, seated on a rock, the right hand extended, and holding ears of corn in the left. Bronze of Hadrian's reign.

[4] ΑΡΤΕΜΙC ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑCΩΝ (Artemis, Fortune of the inhabitants of Gerasa). Bust of Diana; below, the crescent moon. Bronze coin.

[5] ΤΥΧΗ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ (Fortune of Philadelphia). Turreted head, doubtless the personification of the city. Bronze.

westerly towards Cœlo-Syria or to the west of the country of the Nabathæans. On reaching the Roman frontier these two routes became united to another which, from Damascus to Petra, followed the border of the cultivated lands and the desert in such a way that these three routes formed an immense triangle, having its apex towards Charax,[1] on the Pasitigris, its base

Temple of Jupiter at Gerasa (*Album du Duc de Luynes*, pl. 49).

along the lowest slopes of Anti-Libanus, and its two sides across the great desert.

In "the country of thirst" the merchants had planted neither towns nor villages; they journeyed rapidly, stopping only at the wells which dotted the road; but, from time immemorial, they had established their entrepôts around the springs of Palmyra and in the inexpugnable inclosure of the rocks of Petra. There it was that the safe conducts bought from the Arabs were signed and that the merchandise was stored; there were collected

[1] Charax, capital of this little state, is on nearly the same site as Bassorah.

provisions, beasts of burden, and guides. The conduct of a caravan was a difficult expedition which always brought honour, often profit, and the highest magistrates of these cities accepted the charge of it.[1] Some inscriptions still celebrate their skill or their courage, and statues had been erected to them by those whose fortune or life they had saved.[2]

Beyond these two oases, by the side of the Euphrates, nothing but desert; but behind them some fine cities: Baalbec, Damascus, Bostra, Gerasa, Philadelphia, whose ruins are reckoned amongst the finest that we know.

How was this phenomenon produced of fine cities flourishing at the extreme frontier of the Empire, at the edge of the desert?

The misfortunes of its neighbours had made the fortune of this region. Many Greek families, which Alexander and his successors had caused to follow in their steps to the heart of Asia, retreating before the reaction of the indigenous races, had fallen back on Syria, the first land in which they again found anything of their language, customs, and religion.[3] Another human wave reached it from an opposite direction. In the time of the Herods, Palestine was very rich and Galilee covered with an abundant population. During the war of extermination carried on by Titus, a crowd of the inhabitants belonging to the right bank of the Jordan crossed to the left bank, which belonged at that time to the king of the Nabathæans, and ascended as far as Damascus, Heliopolis, Palmyra, where we have proof of the existence of a Hebrew community.[4] At an uncertain period some Arab Himyarites, emigrants from Yemen, were established

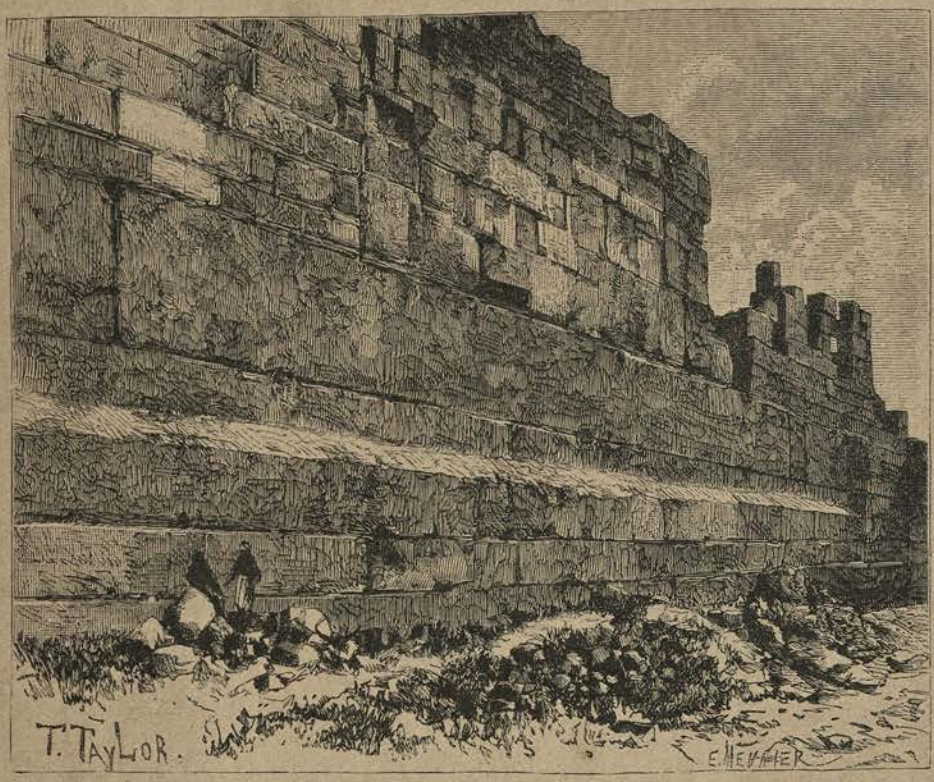
[1] See the *Inscriptions Sémitiques* of M. le Comte M. de Vogüé, pp. 8 and 63.

[2] *Id., ibid.*, Nos. 4 and 5. The inscription No. 4 says: "This statue is of . . . . Zebeida. It was put up by the merchants of the caravan who went down with him to Vologesias . . . . for having deserved well of them." It is dated April, 147. The tomb of this Zebeida, a contemporary of Hadrian, still exists. (*Ibid.*, p. 47.) [A new taxing inscription of the year 137 has been found at Palmyra. (*Journal as.* for 1883.)—*Ed.*]

[3] In the first and second centuries of our era the use of Greek was common in Syria and the Arab region which adjoins Palestine and Egypt, as is proved by the Greek inscriptions of the stelæ placed at the circumference of the second peribolus of the temple of Jerusalem, the idiom employed by the Arab which Appian preserves (in the fragment of Appian found by Miller), the Greek inscriptions of the medals of the kings of Characene, etc. Cf. *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1872, pp. 129 and 437.

[4] Derenbourg, *Hist de la Palestine*, pp. 22, 224, and 402, and de Vogüé, *Inscriptions araméennes*, No. 65.

in the Hauran and the Belkâ; of settled habits and agriculturists, they protected the country against the tent Arabs, and Bostra, their capital, became the granary of these regions.[1] What one calls desert, at least on this side, is in fact only waste land. Let man come there, and let an able police keep in check the mountaineers and nomads, and give him security, he will



Wall called Solomon's or Cyclopean Courses of Baalbec.

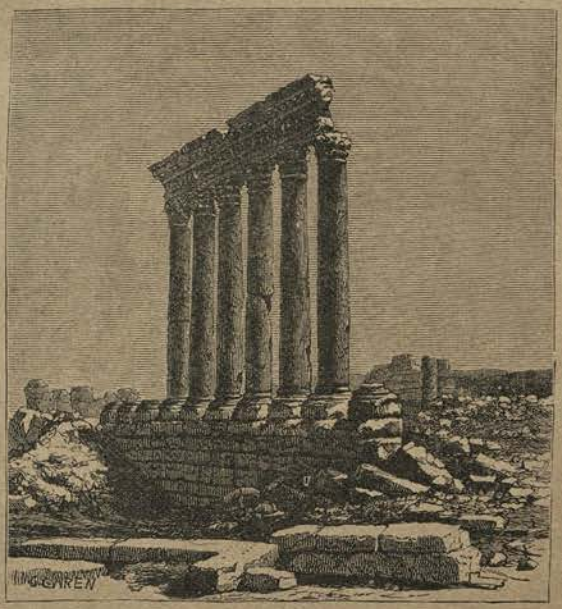
utilize, in the cantons easily watered, even towards the Dead Sea, the abundant water supplies from the mountains, which, under a burning sun, will cause the earth to produce rich harvests. After the blows struck by Corbulo and Trajan against the Parthians, after the severe order produced in Judæa by Titus, in the province of *Arabia* by Cornelius Palma, numerous populations had come to these regions, and the good police

[1] Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, p. 107. He seems to place this establishment before Trajan's reign. M. Caussin de Perceval (*Hist. des Arabes*, i. 212) places it about the year 190 A.D.

established by Rome and Hadrian developed a state of prosperity then hitherto unknown.

Laureated Bust of Hadrian.[1]

Besides, these men, who later on proved themselves in their Spanish colonies the most skilful irrigators in the world, have at all times shown a genius for trade. Arabs, Greeks, Syrians, Jews, ardently gave up themselves to a commerce which the increasing taste for Oriental commodities rendered more active daily and which went on in all security during the "Roman peace." The vitality of the Empire showed itself energetically in this province, to which streamed both men and goods—exiles from Asiatic Greece and the proscribed of Palestine



Remains of the "Temple of the Sun" at Baalbec.

to people it; labourers and merchants to enrich it, soldiers to defend it.[2] Art followed fortune at its bidding and produced the wonders of Baalbec and Tadmor, where a single portico, supported by marble columns, was 4,000 feet long. Thus then is it explained how the sea of sand gave to these cities the riches

[1] ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CEBACTOC. The Emperor Hadrian Augustus.

[2] Under Alexander Severus, six legions, according to Dion Cassius, encamped in this region: two in Syria, two in Judæa, one in Arabia, one in Phœnicia.

which the ocean gives to so many maritime cities: these were the ports of the desert.

This prosperity dated long back, since some of these cities belonged to Biblical times, and the Roman architects raised their own monuments on colossal substructures [of ancient date]. At least, at Baalbec the walls of the temple of the Sun, which

Palmyra. Remains of the Colonnade.

Hadrian commenced, and of Jupiter, which Severus constructed, have for their lowest courses stones of a very hard limestone, three of which are each twenty mètres long, five high, and wide in proportion; a fourth, still larger, remains in the quarry, 1,000 feet off.

Palmyra, which had continued for a long time like Damascus in an uncertain dependence on the Empire, had at last recognized

the direct authority of Rome,[1] after the submission of Petra (105). Hadrian had arrived there in the year 130[2] with his legion of workmen. We do not know what he did there, but he must have left behind proofs of liberality in a city which had, for his general policy, extreme importance, since it stood at the point of contact with two empires, and which, in providing it with the means of developing its commerce, he furnished himself fresh guarantees of peace. On the route leading from Damascus to Palmyra, and from thence to the Euphrates, are to be found the traces of about forty-two posts or castellated forts, at three hours' distance from one another.[3] The Roman soldiers could not have held all these posts; but we have proofs that they garrisoned some of those which served as land-marks for the first part of this route; and as Trajan, who came at the end of his life to the East for a great war, had had no leisure to dream of these precautions to secure peace, it was Hadrian that took them when he himself visited these stations. A part ought also be attributed to him in the magnificent constructions which Palmyra began to raise.[4] He gave them the privileges of the *jus Italicum*, with the title most envied by the provincial cities, that of colony;[5] and some considerable gifts most certainly accompanied these favours, for the city wished to be styled *Hadrianopolis*.[6]

The province of Arabia was of recent formation. Palma, who had conquered it in 105, Trajan, who had organized it in 106, had not had time to see to everything. What remained of vital importance to do there Hadrian did, since the medals of the

[1] See vol. iv. p. 775. Before this date Palmyra used to furnish auxiliaries; thus Titus, in the war against the Jews, had Palmyrian archers, and such are found among the troops cantoned in Dacia and Numidia.

[2] A bilingual inscription mentions a statue set up in April, 131, "to Male, who was registrar at the time of Hadrian's tour." Cf. de Vogüé, No. 16, and Waddington, No. 2,585.

[3] The Prussian consul at Damascus states that he had this information from Sheik Muhammed-ibn-Dûhi. Cf. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen* (1860), p. 105.

[4] Cf. Rob. Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra*; these monuments have all the marks of the architecture of the Antonines.

[5] The name of Aurelius, borne by several strategi of Palmyra, has caused all these benefits to be ascribed to Antoninus, who, before his accession, was called Titus Aurelius Fulvus; the name taken by the city renders the designation of Hadrian more probable. In a neighbouring village there has been found a *naos* dedicated to Baalsamin . . . ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας . . . Ἀδριανοῦ (de Vogüé, *Inscr. aram.*, p. 50).

[6] Ἀδριανὴ Παλμυρα (*C. I. G.*, Nos. 4,482 and 6,015).

province are dedicated *Restitutori Arabiæ*. Gerasa commenced with him the series of its imperial coins, and Damascus struck some with the inscription: "To the god Hadrian," or with the double effigy of the emperor and empress. Trajan had made the fortune of Bostra by settling a legion there. To show gratitude for some act of liberality from Hadrian, without showing a too lively ingratitude towards his predecessor, the city ceased for a time inscribing on its coins the name of its second founder, but did not replace it by that of the new prince. In the midst of so much base adulation, this restrained flattery was almost dignified. Hadrian was certainly engaged with the old route for camels from Damascus to Petra. His soldiers, whom he knew how to stimulate, constructed, in different directions, military roads, the remains of which may still be seen even on the plains of Moab,[1] and the capital of Hauran became the centre of an extensive commerce, which carried to Damascus the dates of Hedjaz and the perfumes of Yemen; into Arabia, the corn, the raisins of the Jordan valley, and the stuffs of Asia Minor; to the harbours of the Mediterranean, Eastern commodities, which its caravans went to fetch direct from the emporiums of the Lower Euphrates.[3] Towards the Dead Sea the attention of the imperial traveller, who had no desire to neglect anything curious in nature or art, would be awakened by those dark stories which circulated about this strange lake of heavy bitter waters, which could not support a single living creature, and into which Vespasian had caused strangled criminals to be thrown to make certain that human bodies would float in it. But it was not given, even to the most intelligent of emperors, to find, in visiting these places, the interest which the lowest of our travellers finds there now-a-days, when, aided by the torch of modern science, he sees the lofty summits of Lebanon covered with eternal snows, and from its glaciers violent water-courses descending;[4] in Hauran, mountains shaken by the force

The God Hadrian.[2]

[1] Cf. Rey, *Voyage dans le Haouran*, p. 136.

[2] ΘΕΟC ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC (the god Hadrian). Middle-sized bronze of Damascus.

[3] Caussin de Perceval, *Hist. des Arabes*, i. 319.

[4] M. Lartet believes he has found morains and striæ made by ice in motion over the rocks

of subterraneous fires, and the plain scourged by an internal tempest which arises like a stormy sea:[1] in fine, on a line of 800 leagues, from Bab-el-Mandeb to the sources of the Jordan,

Tomb, at Petra.[2]

land which has been rent asunder, and to the south of the immense fissure,[3] the Indian Ocean tossing between Africa and

of the mountains in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia Petræa. At present Lebanon has snow only in the winter.

[1] All Hauran is covered with craters, cones, and immense rivers of lava broken into a thousand shapes: "One might call them waves raised by a tempest." (Rey, *Voyage dans le Haouran*, p. 63; on the volcanic nature of this region, cf. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*.

[2] M. Hittorf believes that the Pompeian painting on page 85 has served as a copy for a tomb two stories high at Petra. MM. de Laborde, Linant, Burckhardt, and Banks have seen this colossal monument, which the Arabs call Karzr Faraoum, *Pharaoh's palace*, and which is higher than the Arc de l'Étoile. Cf. *Revue Archéol.*, 1862, vol. vi. 2nd part, p. 110.

[3] The ancients had already called by the name of *Hollow Syria* the northern part of the vast furrow stretching from Lebanon to the Red Sea. The middle portion has received from the Arabs the name of *El-Ghor*, the hollow valley, and the Dead Sea, which scarcely equals the lake of Geneva in area, marks the lowest part of it, 393 mètres below the level of the Mediterranean, according to the latest exploration. See Lartet, *Géologie de la Palestine*, pp. 16, 35, and 236. The evaporation, extremely rapid at the bottom of this gulf, raises in twenty-four hours a stratum of water equal to 13 millimètres. So the Jordan, which at the time when it rises pours in 6,000,000 cubic mètres daily, cannot raise the level. Yet the mountains surrounding it bear traces of a very much higher level, doubtless at the period when Lebanon had

Asia, whilst the waters of the north, arrested by an abrupt sinking of the soil,[1] are massed in the hollow of the Asphaltic Lake, the deepest depression of the three continents. This terrible page of the earth's history had not then been written, and Hadrian, in these same parts, heard mention only of some miserable

Pompeian Painting, which probably inspired the Architect of Petra.

cities, destroyed by the anger of heaven. The legend, as is often the case, was less grand than the history.

From the southern point of the Dead Sea Hadrian reached the Wady-el-Arabah, "the waterless stream," which extends as far as the Red Sea. After a thirty hours' march, he arrived

glaciers. According to the same geologist, the level of Lake Tiberias is 212 mètres below the Mediterranean, but on the side of the hills surrounding it are seen pebbles rolled to a height which proves that the lake had the same level formerly as the Mediterranean.

[1] The watershed which separates the basins of the Dead Sea and the Red Sea seems raised 160 mètres above the ocean.

at the vicinity of Mount Hor, the summit of which, according to the biblical account which the Mussulmans have preserved, is the site of Aaron's tomb, and by a narrow gorge where the sun never reaches he entered the capital of the Nabathæans. Since the time of Strabo there were at Petra many Romans who had come to establish themselves among this people, in whose hands was found, in a great degree, the commerce of the Lower Euphrates and of India with Egypt. There are still to be met with, here and there, the remains of a Roman road which unites Palestine to this city, and one of its monuments reminds us of an elegant Pompeian painting. Some of these must surely date from Hadrian's visit, for, as a sign of its grateful acknowledgment, Petra took this prince's name, and began with him its series of imperial coins.[1]

Hathor, the Egyptian Venus. (Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 175.)

In Palestine, Hadrian gave a greater impetus to the works of the Roman colony and the temples which he had founded at Jerusalem—a circumstance which was soon to cause a formidable insurrection to break out.

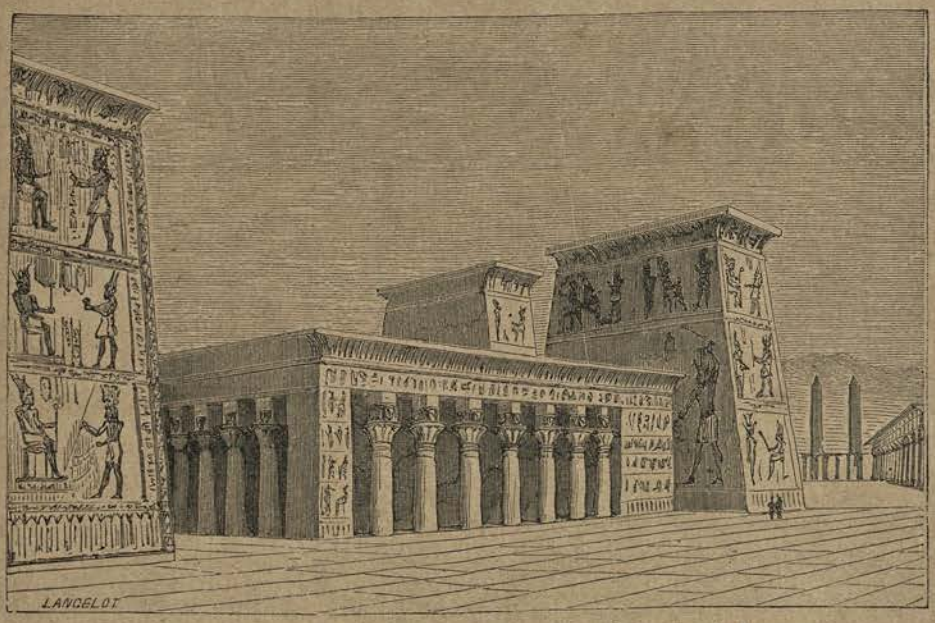
He entered Egypt by Pelusium,[2] where he did honour to Pompey's memory by raising a funeral monument to him who had temples, but no tomb. Just recently the whole Nile valley had been greatly agitated.[3] Apis had manifested himself there after long absence. The strange god was not easy to find, for his worshippers desired that he should prove his divinity by letting a white mark of crescent shape be seen on his brow, on his back the figure of an eagle, below his tongue the form of a scarabæus—requirements which he was unable to satisfy without a little priestly assistance and a good deal of popular credulity. There were other conditions of a supernatural sort which it was still more difficult to verify: Apis ought to be born of a heifer made

[1] Ἀδριανὴ Πέτρα μητρόπολις (*C. I. G.*, No. 4,667). I believe Hadrian passed these places where I have brought him; but I cannot be sure that he visited them in the order which I have followed.

[2] . . . . *peragrata Arabia, Pelusium venit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 13).

[3] Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.*, xv.

fruitful by a flash of lightning descended from heaven. Thanks to these marvels the god was in great honour throughout the whole of Egypt. The cities had contended for his keeping by main force; even Alexandria, the Greek city, had made claim to this honour. Hadrian was in Gaul at the time of these disorders; he wisely avoided intermixing the imperial authority with them, and left them to settle it among themselves; at his arrival, peace had been long re-established, the god shut up in his temple,



Restoration of the Temple of Philæ, near the Cataracts of Assouan.

and the workmen employed in quarrying his tomb, which a Frenchman has brought to light in the Serapeum, under the hill of Sakkara.[1]

Egypt seems to have given very moderate pleasure to this imperial virtuoso. It had lost its vigorous religious and national life; art even had reached the last stage of decadence, as the small temple erected in Nerva's honour near the cataracts of Syene bears witness. An image of Hathor, which is ascribed to Hadrian's time, is neither Greek nor Egyptian, and has neither

[1] M. Mariette. He discovered it with many others, among which was that of the last Apis. The religious revolution which killed the god has left his tomb—a monolith weighing 60,000 kilogrammes—half-way from the *cella* intended to hold it.

the grace of the statues of Ionia nor the imposing majesty of the Pharaonic works. Yet, like the mummies of its priests with their mask of gold, Egypt shone with a strange brilliancy caused by the glories of the past and the riches of the present. No invasion had violated its temples, or overturned the monuments of its kings; the Ptolemies had added works of Greek art to those of the Pharaohs, and it was the centre of an immense commerce, the focus of a burning activity. Minds were at work there as well as hands; all the commodities of the East passed through Alexandria; all the philosophic and religious ideas of the world made themselves heard there. This din wearied the prince, who was delighted with the calmness of Athenian life, feeding his mind in the midst of those *chefs-d'œuvre* of art and thought which, simply by their beauty, gently raised the soul towards higher spheres. Alexandria, a raging furnace in which everything was poured and fused, misshapen scoriæ and precious metal, led Hadrian to sigh for the *templa serena* of Greece, whence the sage looked out tranquilly upon the world.[1]

Another crime in the eyes of the artist-prince: Alexandria was ugly. Gloomily situated on a desolate sandy shore, between a salt lake and the sea, just where the desert terminated, Alexandria possessed neither the grace of the Greek cities nor the charm of Oriental cities, which are sometimes, like Cairo of the present day, incomparable in their rags. Partly destroyed during the great Jewish insurrection of the last days of Trajan, it had, doubtless, not as yet arisen from its ruins, although Hadrian had undertaken a large share of the expenditure;[2] and the fine street of Canopus, in spite of or because of its regularity, the palace of the kings, with its immense area,[3] the Pharos, which had beauty only for navigators,[4] were not sufficient to arouse an admiration satiated with the marvels of Greek art.

[1] See in the *Nigrinus* of Lucian, a picture of Athenian life, and in Aulus Gellius (xvii. 8) the simplicity of manners which prevailed there. The philosopher Taurus entertained his pupils in the evening, Aulus Gellius understood, with a dish of lentils and some slices of cucumber.

[2] S. Jerome, *Chron. ad ann.* 118: *Hadrianus Alexandriam a Romanis subversam publicis instauravit impensis.*

[3] Strabo, XVII. i. 8.

[4] M. E. Allard, civil engineer, has made, in the great work entitled *Les Travaux publics de la France*, a learned study of the ancient lighthouses. He reduces the height of that of Alexandria to 80 mètres, and the range of its light to 22 nautical miles, or about 42 kilomètres.

The friend of philosophers at first felt pleasure in visiting the library, the museum, and in conversing with the savants attracted by these famous schools. He proposed questions to them and discussed them with them; but finding only a confused and empty science, he prepared the ruin of the ancient institution by creating sinecures in it by the bestowal on absentees of "the Egyptian pension,"[1] while he had endowed the schools of Athens and Asia Minor with chairs[2] which furnished a maintenance there. It was not that he felt at all disquieted at the liberty which was enjoyed there. The emperors had continued a functionary whom the Ptolemies

Sabina.

The Lighthouse.
Coin of Alexandria.[3]

Coin, commemorative of Hadrian's Visit to Egypt. (Bronze struck at Alexandria.)

charged with restraining all exuberance, the epistolographer, a sort of minister of religion and literature. Thus Timon called the museum "the cage of the Muses," meaning by that that the birds of prey kept in this royal aviary were not allowed to sing every sort of song.[4] In fact, this literature and these philosophies were quite inoffensive. The subtleties of grammar and etymology were the chief items of interest. Ancient texts, not the prince's authority, were discussed; dissertations on metaphysical entities, but not on the best form of government; a life in the mythological times much more than in the present period; and the boldest of them limited his audacity to saving paganism by explaining it allegorically. Magic, theosophy, had their home there; gnosticism flourished there; their views were like streams with

[1] Τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν σίτησιν.

[2] Θρόνοι (Matter, *l'École d'Alex.*, p. 285).

[3] On the obverse, the Empress Sabina: CABINA CEBACTH; on the reverse, Γ. ENNEA KΔ. The lighthouse surmounted by a figure standing, placed between two tritons sounding the buccina. Bronze.

[4] Letronne, *Inscrip. d'Égypte*, vol. i. p. 361: . . . . Μουσέων τάλαρος . . . . πολυτιμώτατοι ὄρνιθες (Athenæus, i. p. 22 d). Timon lived under Philadelphus.

ill-defined banks, which stretch out afar and mingle their muddy waters.[1]

Hadrian would be less pleased with Memphis, for the Greek kings had in no way respected the capital of the Pharaohs, and for a long while its palaces had been used to build those of Alexandria.

While recently seeing, on the site of this city, heaps of crumbling bricks, and a forest of palm trees waving their graceful heads above the spots where the kings' palaces arose, I asked myself whether Memphis had ever employed, for private dwellings,

Antinous deified.[2]

Head of Antinous, on a Bronze Medallion struck at Smyrna.

any other material than bricks dried in the sun. This people lived, as at present, in mud houses, but built their temples and tombs to last for ever.[3] It does not appear that Hadrian was struck by the gloomy religious majesty of the grand edifices of Upper Egypt. In his villa at Tibur, where he wanted to have a representation of the most beautiful monuments which he had observed during his travels, scarcely a souvenir of Egypt is remarked—the Canopus, a long basin intended for nautical games, and which had nothing else Egyptian than a little temple of Serapis built at the end, and some statues brought from the banks of the Nile, or copied from those of the Pharaohs.

[1] It is possible that one superior man, Ptolemy, was then at Alexandria; at least he was there nine years later.

[2] Coin with a Greek inscription, signifying *Hostilius Marcellus, priest of Antinous.*

[3] Some of the tombs of Memphis exist at Sakkara; but the temples have disappeared. From Strabo's time Memphis was already decaying, and it was drawn from as from a quarry. We have remaining bronze coins commemorative of Hadrian's visit. On one is represented the city of Alexandria going before the emperor, mounted on a quadriga; another represents him sailing on the Nile.

Antinous as Bacchus. Statue found at the *Villa Hadriana*. (Vatican, Round Room, No. 540.)

Whilst Hadrian was ascending this stream, Antinous was accidentally drowned,[1] or in devoting himself for his master, a god having declared this sacrifice to be necessary for the emperor's safety. If the latter version be correct, this god desired noble sentiments; Hadrian's affection was scandalous and his grief shameful. He made a god of Antinous, whose image was set up in the cities of Asia, and the homicidal divinity returned oracular responses which Hadrian was pleased to compose: a more sanguinary satire on paganism than that of Lucian, who, however, was soon to make such rude warfare against the gods. It is well to note that this worship of masculine beauty belongs exclusively to the Hellenic East. If at Rome and in its environs many busts and statues of Antinous have been found, we have but one Latin inscription in his honour, and no coin of Roman make bears his name.[2]

This apotheosis, the result of Greek vice, some fine statues of the newly-made god which served to renew the types of Bacchus and Apollo, some inscriptions on the colossus of Memnon, and the foundation of Antinopolis, which a road furnished with watering-places, stations, and fortified posts connected with the ports of the Red Sea[3]—these are the whole of the souvenirs now remaining of Hadrian's stay in Egypt. There would be one more, if the mosaic of Palestrina represented his tour in this country. This ascription of it must be given up.[4] I believe, on the contrary, in the authenticity of the letter from the prince to Servianus. The phraseology

[1] This is the account that Hadrian gives of it, who founded a city, Antinopolis, near the place where his favourite died, October 30, 130, at Cheykh-Abâdeh, in the province of Minyeh. Dion pretends that Antinous was immolated in sacrifice as a voluntary victim (lxix. 12). The latter more tragical version was naturally that which circulated most. Antinopolis was built and organized as a Greek city. The tomb of the favourite, worthy of those of the ancient kings, was adorned by a sphinx and obelisks.

[2] Orelli, No. 823.

[3] This route, called *Via Hadriana*, going from Antinopolis to Myos Hormos across the desert, then along the coast to Berenice, was finished in 137, according to an inscription found by M. Mariette and explained by M. Miller, *Revue archéol.* of 1870, p. 313. At Djebel-Dokhan, where are the celebrated quarries of porphyry and red granite, in a valley now uninhabitable, there are seen the ruins of a fortified city, and a temple begun, but not finished, which bears a Greek inscription of Hadrian's time. (Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. p. 148.)

[4] This statement of the Abbé Barthélemy (*Mem. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxx. p. 503) disputed by Winckelmann (*Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. chap. v. § 14) is abandoned, and deservedly so. See Maspéro, *Biblioth. de l'École des hautes Études*, vol. xxxv. p. 50. But nothing proves that Hadrian's tour in Egypt did not bring into fashion the reproduction of Egyptian scenes,

of it, it is true, is not imperial, but Hadrian liked to laugh at and banter people. "Very dear Servianus, I well know that Egypt whose eulogy you were praising to me, that inconstant fickle people who, at the least rumour, become agitated and run together, that seditious race, insolent and vain. Their capital is rich; everything abounds there, and no one is idle there. Some blow glass; others make paper or twine flax; every one has a vocation and applies himself to it, even the gouty and blind. The god of all, Christians, Jews, and the rest, is gain. There need be other morals for this city, which by its greatness deserves to hold the first place in Egypt. I have done for it all it has desired of me; I have restored its ancient privileges; I have given it some new ones. While I was there, there was nothing but courtesy. I was hardly departed than they outraged my son Verus, and you know, I think, all that they have said respecting Antinous."[1]

This letter is from an artist whom the din of trades wearies, or from a prince whom liberty of speech irritates: probably both at once; at all events, it seems that Hadrian had in Egypt only been struck with the turbulence of the Alexandrians; but we shall remember, to the honour of his memory, that when insulted by the people of Anticoh and scoffed at by those of Alexandria, he was satisfied with answering the former by withdrawing from them a title, the latter by leaving a portrait of them of which every evidence attests the resemblance. Theodosius will be less patient at Thessalonica.

The empress Sabina, who seems to have accompanied Hadrian in many of his travels, certainly followed him to Egypt and ascended the Nile at least as far as Thebes, to see the statue of Memnon, the son of Aurora, who, every morning saluted the appearance of his mother by a melodious sound. We learn from "a blue-stocking,"[2] the poetess Balbilla, that the god, a bad courtier,

taken by hazard from some Egyptian monuments by a travelling artist, or imagined and grouped by him, to give some idea of the strange country where Hadrian had lately sojourned.

[1] Vopiscus, *Saturn.*, 8, declares he took this letter from the books of Phlegon, a freedman of Hadrian's, and I see no reason for not considering it to be genuine. On the Alexandrians, cf. Dion Chrysostom, *Orat.* xxxii., and Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 6.

[2] Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 350 *et seq.* Balbilla celebrated this visit by three verses, which she had carved on the leg of the colossus; and as she has dated them, we know that the double visit by Sabina took place on 20-21 November, 130.

Fragment of the Mosaic of Palestrina, thought to be a Souvenir of Hadrian's Travels in Egypt at the time of the Inundation.

seemed at first not to have appreciated the honour done him, and troubled himself but little "about the angry countenance of the empress;" Sabina had to pay him two visits before he deigned to reply. He had been well repaid. Science, cruel like the gods, has slain the son of Aurora, and replaced the charming legend by a phenomenon quite natural: the sound arises from the vibrations which the earliest rays of the sun cause in dispelling the damp with which the rock has become saturated during the night. It is produced in the granite of Karnac; von Humboldt has heard it in those of South America, and in certain atmospheric conditions which call forth a rapid evaporation of humidity, there can be heard everywhere, at the sea-side or in the neighbourhood of extensive woods, those singular noises which country people call "the forest song."[1]

Hadrian, Restorer of the World. (Large Bronze.)

We have thus reached the end of these long travels without having been able to state accurately either their order or date;[2] but it is their character that it is of consequence above all to point out, and this is indicated by the facts which we have brought together. At present we have to say that Hadrian's solicitude, his reforms, his building projects, his benefactions, extended to the whole Empire, for we have coins which prove his passage through twenty-five provinces and his good deeds in twelve:[3] *Restitutori orbis terrarum.*

The offices which he allowed himself to accept in several towns have the same character of condescension towards his subjects. Thus, he became prætor of Etruria; dictator, ædile, and duumvir in Italian cities;[4] demarch at Naples, archon at Athens, quinquennal at Italica and Hadria. It will be said that these offices were but titles of honour, conferred through flattery. I quite

[1] See the excellent Memoir of Letronne on *The Vocal Statue of Memnon.*

[2] Hadrian, on his return from Egypt, must have stopped in 132 in Palestine, where the great insurrection broke out which we shall relate further on.

[3] These are the twelve provinces or regions which caused medals to be struck with the inscription *Restitutori*, viz., Achaia, Africa, Arabia, Asia, Bithynia, Spain, Gaul, Italy, Libya, Macedonia, Phrygia, and Sicily. On others may be read even *Restitutori* or *Locupletori orbis terrarum.* Cf. Cohen, vol. ii., Hadrian, *passim* from 445 to 1088.

[4] The prætorship of Etruria was a provincial priesthood. The magistrates of some Italian towns had kept the name of dictators.

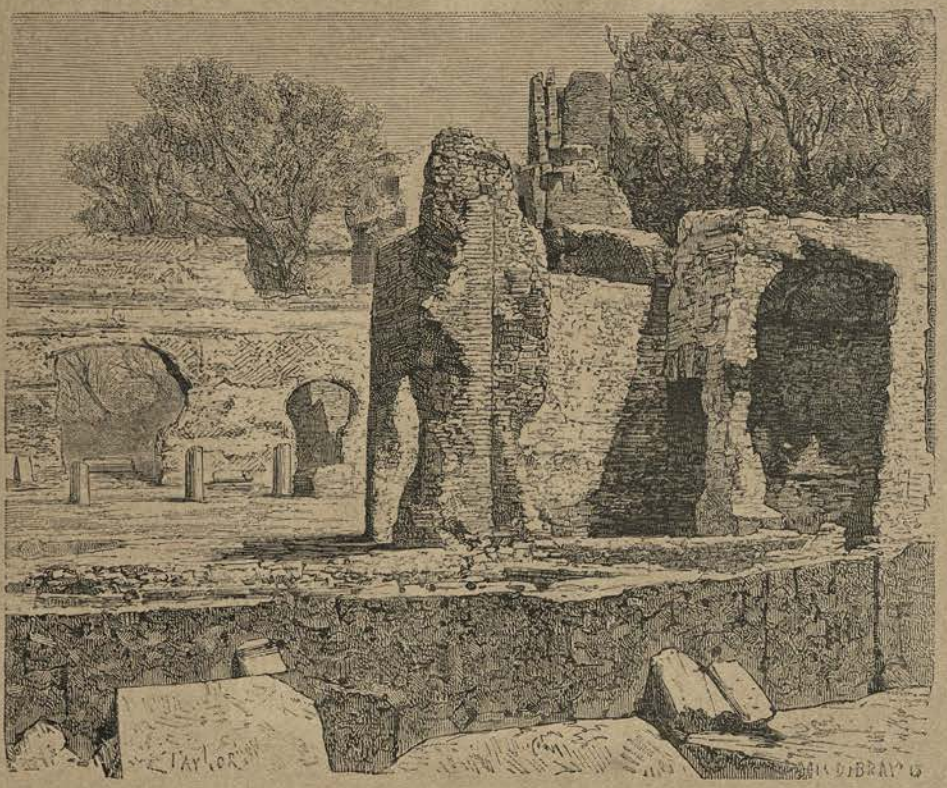
admit it, although the prince had them discharged by representatives; at all events, they would not have dreamt of offering them to an emperor to whom the whole Empire was within the limits of Rome.[1] Municipal government owes him also an improvement which we have preserved: the right for cities to receive directly—and no longer, as under Trajan, in trust—legacies and donations. It was opening up to them, Roman customs being taken into account, an abundant source of revenue.

In the year 134 Hadrian returned to Italy, and never left it again. There is no need to say that Rome and the peninsula profited, as the provincial towns did, by his taste for building.[2] He repaired an incalculable number of buildings without effacing the names of the founders, a thing which, for the Romans, was the height of modesty; he built for himself, on the right bank of the Tiber, an immense tomb which has become the *Castle of St. Angelo*, and the bridge which still connects this fortress to the city is his work. Finally he wished that his villa of Tibur should remind him of the monuments and the spots which had most struck him during his travels: the Lyceum, the Academy, the Prytaneum, the Pœcile, some temples and libraries, a theatre, even the Elysian Fields and Tartarus. It was like a museum of the world: a happy thought which proceeded however from a collector rather than an artist, for many of its contents were necessarily out of taste. This valley of Tempe, with its artificial mountains, these monuments reduced to humble proportions and reconstructed at a distance from the material and historic surroundings for which they had been made, would have been an error of taste, if Hadrian, old and worn out,

[1] See other examples cited in the *Index of Henzen*, p. 159.

[2] Spartian informs us that he made an outflow for the waters of Lake Fucinus, or, more probably, that he set right again the insufficient outlet dug by Claudius. According to Pausanias, he had a harbour made at the ancient Sybaris. An inscription, found at Montepulciano, assigns to him the restoration of the *Via Cassia* from Chiusi to Florence: *Viam Cassiam vetustate collapsam a Clusinorum finibus Florentiam perduxit millia passuum* xxci. (Gruter, clvi. 2). Another inscription, discovered near Nice, recalls the construction of another road: *Viam Juliam Aug. a flumine Trebia quæ vetustate intercíderat sua pecunia restituit* (Maffei, *Mus. Veron.*, ccxxxi. 5); likewise at Suessa: *Viam Suessanis municipibus sua pecunia fecit* (Gruter, cli. 3). At *Cupra maritima* he had rebuilt the temple of the goddess of the place: *Munificentia sua templum deæ Cupræ restituit* (Orelli, No. 1,852). The inhabitants of Feruli in the Sabine country (Muratori, ccxxxiii. 4), those of Ostia (Gruter, ccxlix. 7), of Tiano (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 3,990), of Sorrento (*ibid.*, No. 2,112), etc., have left us inscriptions in which they thank Hadrian for his benefits towards their towns.

had in his villa sought for nothing else than the legitimate pleasure of finding in it at every step some object which awakened in him some recollection of his early years. The Romans did great things and often had the taste for little ones. Read the description that Pliny the Younger gives us of the gardens of one of his country houses. What childishness! And at Pompeii, how many little fountains and little grottoes of rock-work and shells, little



A Part of the Ruins of the *Villa Hadriana*.

gardens and streams which bear the high-sounding name of *Euripus!* In this respect Hadrian was more Roman than any one, and I do not doubt that there were in his villa some very cockney imitations of famous monuments, as well as arrangements of the ground to form sites and celebrated streams, *e.g.*, the Peneus would be represented by a thread of water. Let us not the less be thankful for a fancy which has presented to us the statues, bas-reliefs, and mosaics discovered in the excavations which for the last two

hundred years have been obtained from this villa,[1] which covered a space three miles long. Many precious objects in the museums of

Drunken Centaur, in *noir antique*, found at the *Villa Hadriana*.[2]

Rome, the Barberini obelisk which now adorns the promenade of the Pincio,[3] have been taken from this rich source; and the

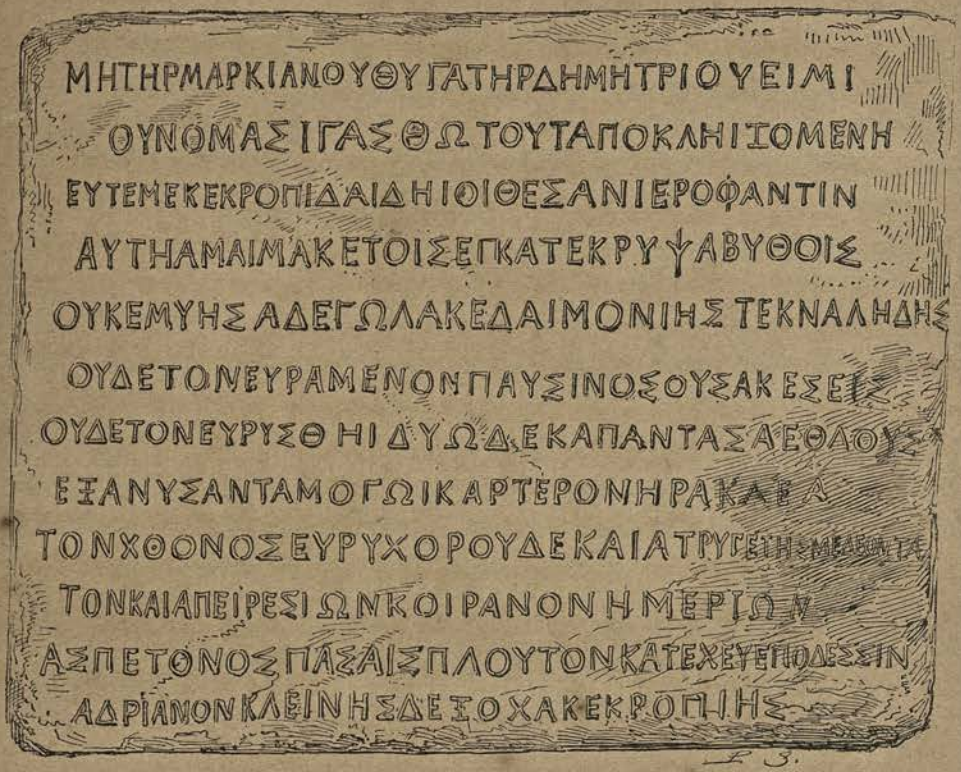
[1] Respecting Hadrian's villa, see Boissier, *Promenades archéol.*, the whole of chap. iv.

[2] A centaur made prisoner, signed also with the names of *Aristæus* and *Papia*, has likewise been found at the *Villa Hadriana*. They are both in the museum of the Capitol, Salon, Nos. 2 and 4.

[3] This obelisk seems to have been brought to Rome since the time of Elagabalus, to adorn the Spina of the *Horti Variani* circus, where it was found at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

European flora have been enriched by a quantity of exotic plants which he had sowed in his gardens at Tibur.[1]

So many years passed by this prince at a distance from his capital, so many works completed in Italy and the provinces, at his own expense or after his example, prove three things worth noting: the wealth of the cities able to execute such numerous



Elegiac Inscription commemorative of Hadrian's Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries (Museum of the Louvre). Cf. note on p. 102.

works of utility or adornment; the sound state of the public finances, since the prince took a large part for these expenses; and, lastly, the tranquillity of the Empire, where all went automatically, without dangerous stoppage or violent shock, whether Hadrian sailed on the Nile or hunted in the mountains of Caledonia.

This order depended on the strict discipline of the legions,

[1] The works of the *Villa Hadriana* must have been begun in 123 or 124. (Descemet, *Inscr. doliaires*, p. 135.)

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the spirit of justice, which animated, as we shall see presently, the general administration, but also on the activity resulting from public works, which occupying many hands, drove away hunger, a bad adviser, *malesuada fames*. Just as we have found in the foreign policy of Hadrian a principle of government—an armed peace, so do we find another for his internal policy—the extension of public works. As regards the former, he was not in agreement with his predecessor; in the latter he imitated him. In fact, both of them had been great builders, not at all simply from personal taste, but by a rule of conduct which was self-imposed, which they perseveringly applied and on which the nations reckoned. In the dedication of an Egyptian temple these words may be read: "For the welfare of the emperor Hadrian . . . . and for the success of the works ordered by him."[1] No doubt the spectacle of this unceasing activity must have singularly struck their minds, since one finds an echo of them in a form of prayer addressed to the gods and even in an inscription of the hierophant of Eleusis: "I, the high priestess, have initiated the master of the world. . . . . He who has poured a stream of gold over all the cities of the universe."[2] When then Eutropius said of these princes that "they covered the earth with their buildings," this writer pointed out a grand political idea and not a puerile satisfaction of vanity.

III.—Administration.

The world had never yet known a like state of prosperity. And this wealth, created by industry or the commerce of the world,

[1] Letronne (*Inscr. d'Égypte*, No. 16) takes the words τὰ ἔργα in the wide sense in which we use them. The acts of Vespasian, quoted in vol. iv. p. 666, show that these great public works formed a well-determined system of imperial policy.

[2] Villoison, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xlvii. p. 330. This is a translation of the inscription (given on p. 101): "Mother of Marcianus, daughter of Demetrius, I shall conceal my name. Separated from the crowd of mortals, since the moment when the children of Cecrops nominated me to be high priestess of Ceres, I have buried my name in the darkness of the profound abyss which incloses the impenetrable mysteries. No, it is not the sons of the Spartan Leda whom I have initiated, nor the inventor of those health-giving remedies which triumph over death, nor that valiant Hercules who has been rescued with so much toil from the twelve labours imposed on him by Eurystheus. I have initiated the sovereign of land and sea, him whose vast empire extends over so many nations; him who has poured a stream of gold over all the cities of the world, and principally over the famous land of Cecrops—I mean the emperor Hadrian." She did not wish to divulge her name, because, being now hierophant, she had only her official title. Thus our sisters lose their family name on entering a convent.

was enjoyed with security; for the terrible law of high treason no longer menaced the heads or fortunes of the rich,[1] and the officials were strictly controlled. Quite recently the senate-house had resounded with accusations which deputies from Bætica, Africa, and Bithynia had come to bring before the senate in the early years of Trajan's reign. Monstrous instances of waste had been met with again, the liberty, even the life of Roman knights sold at a price. With a prince who three or four times made the circuit of the Empire, and who, in each province, stayed long enough to understand everything, with the desire to know all, such charges became no longer possible.

Hadrian treading a Prisoner under Foot.[2]

Some executions however had taken place; some provincial governors and treasury officers or procurators had been condemned. When the victims of these unfaithful magistrates were silent from fear, Hadrian himself called forth accusers.[3]

It is much better to prevent than to cure. Hadrian marked out for the governors of provinces some unchangeable rules. The laws, the edicts, the senatus-consulta, the rescripts of the princes

[1] *Majestatis crimina non admisit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 17).

[2] Mutilated statue, found in Crete and conveyed to the museum of the Old Seraglio at Constantinople since 1870. *Gazette archéol.*, 1880, pl. 6.

[3] *Circumiens provincias procuratores et præsides pro factis supplicio adfecit, ita severe ut accusatores per se crederetur immittere* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 13). See in the *Digest*, xxxix. 4, § 1, the rescript on the commodities which the governors caused to be bought for their use.

formed a mass of decisions often contradictory, some of which besides applied only to particular cases or to certain provinces. By the emperor's order, the prætor Salvius Julianus, one of the jurisconsults whose works have been useful to the editors of the *Pandects* as much as those of Papinian, brought together the ancient prætorian edicts and all the labours expended on the *Lex Annua*, which the prætors had for a long time transmitted with scarcely any change; he consolidated the provisions which formed, under the already ancient title of the Perpetual Edict, a sort of code of prætorian jurisdiction and a general form of procedure. Hadrian promoted a senatus-consultum which, in the year 131, gave the force of law to this new Perpetual Edict. The prætors, governors of provinces, and all the magistrates charged with the administration of justice had to conform to it, not forgetting to add, for new points which might happen to crop up, formal rules and accessory articles conceived in the spirit of the legislative work whose authority the senate and prince had just sanctioned. It was law put in the place of the arbitrary, a real benefit for the provinces, and the first edition of that grand work which has become the corpus of Roman Law.[1]

Hadrian had no intention of stopping, by this step in codification, as has happened at other times and in other countries, juridical development, which had made so brilliant a start.[2] On the contrary, he encouraged the studies of the *prudentes*, by confirming in a rescript the authority of their official replies, to which he gave the force of law when they were unanimous.[3]

His good policy enabled the prince, without burdening the peoples, to adorn the cities, pension literary men and artists, relieve the provincials of the cost of maintaining the imperial post, and increase the assistance granted by Trajan to poor children.[4]

[1] Godefroy (*Cod. Theod.*, prol. p. 283) considers that the Perpetual Edict of Julianus has been the source of all the Roman law as far as the publication of the Code of Theodosius II. This is also the opinion of Bach (*Hist. Jur. rom.*, pp. 404–442).

[2] Julius Celsus, Neratius Priscus, were his contemporaries. I have just spoken of Salvius Julianus.

[3] *Sententiæ eorum quibus permissum est jura condere . . . . si in unum . . . . concurrant . . . . id legis vicem obtinet* (Gaius, i. 67).

[4] See vol. iv. p. 789. He decided that the allowance for maintenance, left by will to an infant till the age of puberty, should be continued, to boys till eighteen, to girls till fourteen. (*Digest*, xxxiv. i. 14.) As regards posts, before Hadrian's time the cities were obliged to keep

But if he desired that the State should succour misery and misfortune he did not intend that the tax-payer should make contributions to himself at the cost of the public treasury. Some months after his accession he had burnt all the debts to the treasury for the last sixteen years, which amounted to the enormous sum of about 200,000,000 francs.[1] Such a high figure of arrears would lead one to suppose that the administration of the finances had been badly conducted or that Trajan's wars had involved the people and the provinces in debt. In order to prevent the return of such abuses Hadrian created a new office, that of fiscal advocate, who was, as regards the financial interests of the State, what our public minister is for the interests of society and respect of the law. In each province the fiscal advocate sought out those who unjustly retained revenue or domain property, and prosecuted them before the procurator of the prince or at the governor's tribunal. But one may rest assured that if this new officer showed diligence in his duties he did not use harshness, for he would have acted against the wishes of the prince who refused the heritages of citizens having families,[2] who left to the children of those condemned to confiscation a part of the paternal fortune,[3] sometimes the whole, while saying these words, still to be read in the *Digest:*[4] "I like better to enrich the State with men than with money." It was on the part of Hadrian a generous intelligent protest against the practice of confiscation which we have taken seventeen centuries to abolish.

A considerable amount of reform is referable to Hadrian: he is even supposed to have ended the hypocrisy of the imperial government by frankly constituting the monarchy, and Aurelius

provided with the necessary stores the stations, *mansiones*, established on their territory, and they were obliged to supply the official traveller with horses and conveyances on the presentation of his *diploma* or travelling permit (this regulation still exists in Russia). Hadrian seems to have substituted fixed contributions for contingent payments; Antoninus diminished this charge, and Severus, perhaps, made the treasury bear a part of it; but after him the whole charge fell upon the municipalities. The *cursus publicus* served the government, but not private persons. In proportion as its importance increased the expense fell more heavily on the towns, and became one of the causes of their misery. Cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[1] Orelli, No. 805; Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 478; and Cohen, vol. ii. pl. vi. No. 1,049. A coin represents a lictor setting fire to a bundle of credit notes.

[2] Spart., *Hadr.*, 18.

[3] The twelfth (*id., ibid.*). Dositheus (§ 9) says the tenth.

[4] *Digest*, xlviii. 20, 7, § 3.

Victor maintains that the administrative reorganization which he effected was still in existence at the end of the fourth century, except some changes introduced by Constantine.[1] In this too positive opinion may be detected the persistent remembrance of Hadrian's wisdom; it is an act of homage done to the prince who more than any one strove to bring order into every branch of the State. Not that he performed in the second century the work of the fourth, but he prepared it. In this matter we know two important facts: he reorganized the *consilium principis*, and he deprived of the offices in the palace the freedmen who, since Augustus, and especially since Claudius, had been the real chiefs of the administration: all the emperor's secretaries were taken from the equestrian order.[2] Now to put into offices connected with the palace, in place of freedmen who were blind servants of their master, Roman knights who became functionaries of the State, and by a necessary consequence to reorganize the branches of the government service, was, in fact, to turn the prince's house, hitherto little different from the house of a wealthy individual, into great public offices of administration.

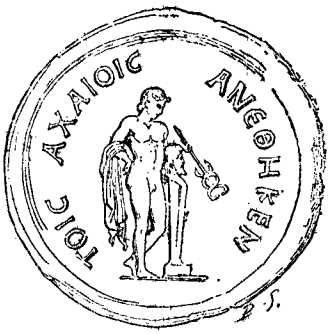
This reform led to another. In obstinately living away from Rome, Hadrian would have paralyzed the course of public affairs had he not made himself present, as it were, in his capital by a government council invested with legal authority. Augustus had constituted a privy council which, if Dion has not transferred to the commencement of the Empire what existed under his own eyes, was already invested with extensive powers.[3] But this council does not seem to have survived the first emperor, at least, in the form that the latter had given it. Its action is in no way to be perceived, and what remained of it was only an accidental and

[1] *Officia sane publica et palatina, nec non militiæ in eam formam statuit, quæ, paucis per Constantinum immutatis, hodie perseverant* (*Epit.*, xiv.).

[2] *Ab epistulis et a libellis primus equites Romanos habuit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 22). Vitellius had already intrusted the offices belonging to the palace to knights. (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 58: *Ministeria principatus per libertos agi solita in equites Romanos disponit.* Cf. Plutarch, *Otho*, 9.) Domitian had done the same (Suet., *Dom.*, 7); an illustrious Roman knight, who was decorated with prætorian insignia and made prefect of the Vigiles, Titinius Capito (Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 17; v. 8; viii. 12), was *ab epistulis* under this prince, under Nerva and Trajan (Kellermann, *Vigil.*, No. 7). But this was exceptional; the rule referred to by Spartian was only established by Hadrian. See Borghesi, vol. v. pp. 14 *et seq.*, and Hirschfeld, pp. 215, 257, 290.

[3] See vol. iii. p. 726.

changing reunion formed by chance from imperial friendships. Hadrian constituted it afresh by asking the senators to give their approbation to the appointments which he made of persons of weight, as famous jurisconsults, knights, prætors, even consuls. The choice of the emperor and the sanction of the senate gave to these functions, till then of a private nature, or at least indeterminate, the character of a kind of permanent magistracy. The questions discussed in the committees which he had lately reorganized came before this council and there received their solution.[1] The emperor was able therefore, without disquietude, to traverse the world and seek at Athens or in Egypt milder winters, in Gaul or Illyricum less scorching summers; the Patres had placed in his hands as it were a second abdication, and in his absence, the members of the governing council, supplying the place of the senate, if needful, by the delegation of power which they had received and the place of the emperor whose confidence they enjoyed, assured the despatch of affairs, the tranquillity of Rome, and the safety of the prince. It was not a ministry, for the Romans disliked, as did our ancient kings, any partition of powers; but when men like Salvius Julianus, Ulpian, Papinian, or Paulus, sat at the *consilium*, a minister of justice might be considered as present there. It is therefore not at all astonishing that the beginning of the monarchical transformation, effected under Diocletian, has been carried back to the period when the freedmen were put into the shade, the knights admitted into the central



Coin commemorative of Hadrian's Voyage to Greece.[2]

[1] . . . . *in consilio habuit non amicos aut comites solum, sed jurisconsultos aliosque, quos tamen senatus omnis probasset* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 18). . . . *Adhibitis in consilio suo consulibus atque prætoribus et optimis senatoribus* (*ibid.*, 22). . . . Ἐξίκαζε μετὰ τῶν πρώτων (Dion, lxix. 7). The members of this council were divided into two classes: *conciliares* et *adsumpti in concilium*, as we have titular councillors of state and members of the council or auditors. They were appointed from 60,000 sestertii up to 200,000, and the difference of the salary marked that of rank. See Wilmanns, No. 1,286; this inscription, being *accented*, belongs, at latest, to the end of the second century, and as it gives the emperor the titles of *pius* and *felix*, which Commodus was the first to bear, it is posterior to the year 180. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 135).

[2] ΤΟΙΣ ΑΧΑΙΟΙΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ. Mercury naked, standing, holding the caduceus; in front, a boundary stone. Bronze coin.

administration, the senators, or at least some of them, into the effective government of the Empire.

The supreme civil and criminal jurisdiction intrusted, in Italy, to four consulars and the multiplication of *curators* foretold the approach of the time when ancient rights and old privileges will disappear before equality produced by obedience. Marcus Aurelius will replace Hadrian's consulars by *juridici*,[1] magistrates of less dignity, invested solely with civil jurisdiction; but he will give the criminal jurisdiction to the prefect of the city in the suburban region (as far as the hundredth milestone) and to the prefect of the prætorium in the rest of Italy.[2] In this way, out of respect for this old territory which had borne the brave populations from which Rome had formed her legions, while giving it the condition of the provinces, the application to it of that name was avoided.

Hadrian's journeys made no change in this order: the imperial post brought quickly to him the opinion of his council. Besides, he took with him a part of those who composed it, so that the government followed him in his wanderings. "Rome," says Herodian, "is where the emperor is."[3]

I omit a number of unimportant reforms. Hadrian had a passion for regulating everything, just as he had for knowing everything, even family secrets. His police, which by reason of his constant travelling he must have made very active, listened at the doors, looked into the interior of houses, and read, over her shoulder, the letter which a wife was writing to her husband, not, like Tiberius, from suspicion, but like Louis XV., to find amusement and fun. If he multiplied edicts respecting dress, carriages,

[1] On the *juridici*, see Mommsen in the *Gromatici veteres*, edit. Lachmann, vol. ii. pp. 192 *et seq.*

[2] The prefect of the prætorium incontestably had this right under Severus; it is probable, but not positive, that it was Marcus Aurelius who gave it him. He renewed the old interdict against commerce by the senators. (Dion, lviii. 16.) As to the right of the prefect of the city, it is noted in the *Digest*, i. 12, 1 pr. and § 4.

[3] *Ambulatorium senatum*, says Haubold (*de Consist. principum Rom.*). Cf. Papinian in the *Digest*, xxvii. i. 30: . . . . *honor delatus* (*in consilium adsumpto*) *finem certi temporis nec loci habet.* Ἐπεὶ τε ἡ Ῥώμη ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾖ (Herod., i. 6). It is probable that to Hadrian is due the enlargement of the *jus Latii*, the difference of which a new reading of the palimpsest of Gaius has well pointed out. In the cities which had the *Minus Latium*, the magistrates alone could acquire the Roman citizenship; in those which had the *Majus Latium*, all the decurions obtained this privilege.

baths, materials from demolished buildings,[1] burials which he interdicted in the interior of cities,[2] etc., he also made edicts to close the *ergastula*, in which so many slaves, even so many free men, carried off by surprise, were detained and tortured; for depriving masters of the right of life and death over their human beasts of burden and for protecting them against their cruelty,[3] for interdicting them, unless by a magistrate's order, from an infamous speculation—the sale of these unfortunates, both men and women, to the proprietor of a brothel or school of gladiators; to prohibit putting indiscriminately to torture all the slaves of an assassinated master, even those who had not been within sight or hearing, and who consequently had not been able to render him help. A matron cruelly treated her women-attendants; he condemned her to five years' banishment.[4] The human sacrifices to Carthaginian Baal continued; he again proscribed them.[5] Lastly, employing logic in the service of humanity, he decided that the woman who might have been free at any time during pregnancy would of necessity give birth to a free infant,[6] and that this child should be by birth Roman if its parents, *peregrini* at the time of conception, should have obtained the freedom of the city before its birth.[7] In this way he ameliorated the condition of woman, allowed her to make a will,[8] and recognized in her who had the *jus trium liberorum* the right of recovering the estate of her children who died intestate.[9] We have seen Trajan restraining the rights of the *patria potestas*;[10]

[1] See the *mémoire* of M. Egger on the *Sénatus-consulte contre les industriels qui spéculent sur la démolition des édifices*, 1872.

[2] *Digest*, xlvii. 12, 3, § 5. The Twelve Tables had forbidden it at Rome.

[3] It was a modification of the senatus-consultum Silanian (10 A.D.) but the principal article of which continued in force, for Modestinus says, in the *Digest*, xxix. 5, 18, that the slave who, if able to afford help to his master, did not do so, ought to be punished with death. Cf. Paulus, *Sent.*, iii. 4, and Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, vol. iii. p. 60.

[4] *Digest*, i. 6, 2.

[5] See vol. iv. p. 29, n. 1.

[6] *Digest*, i. 5, 18. This decision of Hadrian has become the teaching of the Institutes of Justinian.

[7] Gaius, i. §§ 77 and 92. He likewise decided that a child born of a Roman mother and Latin father should be Roman. (*Id.*, i. §§ 30 and 80.)

[8] *De feminarum testamentis* (Gaius, i. § 115).

[9] . . . . *Licet ea in potestate parentis esset* (Ulpian, *Frag.*, xxvi. 8). This right was recognized in the freedwoman only when she had four children. Cf. in the *Digest*, xxxviii. 17, the senatus-consultum Tertullianum.

[10] See *Hist. des Romains*, vol. iv. p. 787.

a decision of Hadrian, given in a particular case, prepared however the ruin of the father's authority so far as he was a judge in his own home. A son had commerce with his stepmother; the father enticed him to the chase and then killed him. The prince condemned him to transportation, not for having made use of the ancient rights of paternal authority, but for having acted as a brigand in the woods.[1]

An inscription cites a law of Hadrian on the *coloni;* unfortunately it is lost. But this simple reference proves the clear-sightedness of the prince who regulated a new condition of the rural populations, destined by degrees to replace the ancient servitude.[2]

Here are edicts and sentences which would serve as excuse for many eccentricities. Never had a similar and more generous effort been made by the legislator to diminish the plague of slavery, a purulent sore which threatened social life. Hadrian's legislation conducts us to the transformation which the ancient form of servitude is to undergo: a large number of slaves will soon be rural peasants (*colòni*).

At Rome, much simplicity of life and dignity of bearing, although he utterly repudiated those who wished to envelop it with indolence, using as a pretext the majesty of rank; and if Antinous had had any successors. vice at least avoided shocking public modesty. In the palace, the slaves and freedmen kept in the shade; no wine on the table, but repasts seasoned with varied conversation, interesting lectures, or scenic representations. Receptions took place on *fête* days; ordinarily calm and silence prevailed in the imperial residence. Yet there was no affectation of austerity; he shared in the pleasures of his friends as well as in their griefs; he hunted with them and visited them in their illness without permitting them to abuse his affection or acquire from it a credit from which they might gain advantage, "as had been customary for Cæsarians and the *entourage* of the emperors to do."[3] In public, as his retinue, the most respected

[1] . . . . *Quod latronis magis quam patris jure eum interfecit; nam patria potestas in pietate debet, non atrocitate consistere* (*Digest,* xlviii. 9, 5).

[2] The question of the colonial system is discussed in chap. lxxxii. § 4.

[3] Dion, lxix. 7.

citizens, and no advances made to the crowd in order to draw from it those acclamations so easily obtained and which so often deceive those who receive them. When he returned from the Forum or senate it was in a litter, so that he might not be followed.[1]

Until his death he had the same consideration for the senators. Did foreign ambassadors arrive, he himself presented them to the senate, made known their demands, took the advice of each, and after having received the votes, summed up the reply in accordance with the views of the majority. With the people he was as with the soldiers, rather severe than affable.[2] One day during the games he was urgently asked a favour[3] which he did not think it right to grant; he refused it, and, all the assembly crying out, he ordered the herald to proclaim silence and that the games should proceed. Another time the people pressed him with great clamour to set at liberty a charioteer. He wrote on his tablets: "The dignity of the Roman people does not permit it to ask to set free another's slave nor to compel the owner himself to set him free;" and he threw these tablets into the crowd. At other times he avoided an importunate request by a witticism. A suppliant, whose hair was growing white and who had not been able to obtain some favour, appeared again some time after with his hair dyed and asked for the same situation: "But I have already refused your father," said the prince.

He liked, as we have said, to administer justice, and above all, to do it; when he was seated on the tribunal he was surrounded, "not by his friends or by his intimates, but by the wisest jurisconsults, better than whom the senate itself would not have been able to choose, as Julius Celsius, Salvius Julianus, Neratius Priscus."[4] Dion, who is not favourable towards him, yet remarks that he never unjustly deprived any one of his goods; and the historian adds, with a *naïveté* which is unfortunately a just estimate of certain characters: "He was not at all passionate,

[1] *Omnia ad privati hominis modum fecit* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 9).
[2] Ἐμβριθῶς μᾶλλον ἢ θωπευτικῶς (Dion, lxix. 6).
[3] Ἰσχυρῶς αἰτοῦντί τι (*id.*, *ibid.*).
[4] Spart., *Hadr.*, 18.

even towards the nobodies who did him service in acting contrary to his sentiments." But he did not tolerate that the judges should violate the law; and his vigilance, and that by which he overawed the administration, rendered betrayals of trust very difficult.[1] He admitted that the intention and not the fact constituted the guilt, and if, in it, the man has shown bad morals, the prince knew how to recompense good morals by refusing to punish the murderer of an individual who had committed shameful acts of violence against the person of the accused or his own connections.[2]

It is unfortunate that the grammarian Dositheus, who has preserved some of Hadrian's *letters and sentences*, should have been only a schoolmaster, selecting by chance examples which he set before his scholars. Better chosen and more numerous, these fragments would have allowed us to lift a corner of the veil which hides the customary life of the prince. Such as they are, they show him administering justice or giving advice to all comers in the vestibule of his palace,[3] just as the Eastern kings and sheiks do at the gates of their city; and in spite of their insignificance, they help us to seize the true character of this imperial magistracy, composed of well-determined prerogatives derived from ancient republican offices and from the indefinite powers of patriarchal authority.

A man wished to enter the army. "Where do you want to serve?" "In the prætorium." "But what is your height?" "Five feet and a half." "Enter the city cohorts, and if you are a good soldier, you will be able in the third year to be passed into the prætorians." (§ 2.)

An old soldier goes to the palace. "My sons, my lord, have been taken for the militia." "Very good." "But they are very ignorant; I am therefore afraid they will not act according to the regulations and that they will leave me in misery." "Why do you fear that? Are we not in a state of

[1] *De judicibus omnibus semper cuncta scrutando tamdiu requisivit quamdiu verum inveniret* (Spart., *ibid.*, 21).

[2] *Eum qui stuprum sibi vel suis per vim inferentem occidit, dimittendum* (*Digest*, xlviii. 8, 1, § 5).

[3] Some of the requests addressed to the prince were made by writing, *per libellos*; others, *vivâ voce*.

peace? Their time in the militia will pass peaceably." "Allow me, my lord, to follow them in the capacity of servant." "By the gods, do nothing of the kind. It is not fit that you should be your sons' valet; but take this vine twig. I make a centurion of you."[1] (§ 13.)

Another day he condemns a son to keep his old infirm father, a guardian to furnish his ward with board. A man and a woman who had not contracted a proper marriage, that is, a lawful one, raised a dispute about a child in order to get its share in the public distributions. The emperor ordered the child to appear. "With whom do you live?" "With my mother." Then the prince, turning to the man, said: "Rascal! give up this congiarium which does not belong to you." (§ 11.)

While he was assisting at the distribution of what we should call tickets for bread, a woman cried out: "I beg of you, my lord, to order them to give me a part of my son's congiarium as he has deserted me." The son was present. "I, my lord, don't acknowledge her to be my mother." "Well then, if you insist, I shall no longer recognize you as a citizen." (§ 14.)

A citizen declares that he possesses the equestrian qualification and that he had solicited the concession of the horse of honour (*equum publicum*),[2] but could not obtain it because of an accusation brought against him. "The man who demands the horse of honour ought to be free from all reproach; prove that your life is without stain." (§ 6.)

In all this there is nothing of importance as regards law or history. Yet, if Tacitus had read the fragments of Dositheus he would not have made Tiberius's presence in the tribunals a reproach to him. The emperor was a military chief, *imperator*, but he belonged also to that age in which society above all saw in the prince a justiciary like Solomon or St. Louis. In the hands of a wise man this faculty of "administering law," *condere jura*, at every turn and on every question has no inconvenience; in the hands of a debauchee, a violent man, or

[1] There were in each legion sixty grades of centurions, all of different rank.

[2] An old expression, which simply means the inscription on the official list of the knights having the right in the ceremony to take part in the *transvectio*. The knight *equo publico* had first of all the equestrian qualification given by the fortune and rank which the public authority assigned him. Now this rank was necessary for reaching the highest offices.

a fool, it has been already, and will become again, a terrible matter. Hadrian fortunately belonged to the category of wise men.

Such a prince deserved to be well served, and so he was, because he had the quality which in a prince can take the place of all the rest: he knew how to find out useful men and to give them those duties which they were best able to fulfil. But the writers who have preserved so few things about the emperor tell us nothing of his lieutenants. He had such, however, as were worthy of ancient times. Thus Marcius Turbo, his best general, who became prefect of the prætorium, astonished the effeminate grandees of Rome by his activity and austere life. He passed the whole day in working at the palace and often returned to the prince in the middle of the night. Never was he seen, even when ill, to shut himself up in his house, and Hadrian, pressing him to take some repose, he answered in the words of Vespasian: "A prefect of the prætorium ought to die standing."[1]

Sulpicius Similis was another severe guardian of discipline. Trajan having summoned him to his tent—a simple centurion before the tribunes—he said to the prince: "It is a shame, Cæsar, that thou shouldest converse with a centurion whilst the tribunes are standing at thy door and waiting." He took, in spite of himself, the command of the prætorium, retired from it as soon as he was able, passed in the country the rest of his life, seven years, and caused to be inscribed on his tomb, "Here lies Similis, who existed seventy-six years and lived seven."[2]

The conqueror of the Jews, Julius Severus, a man both of authority but at the same time of justice, had gained such renown in his government of Bithynia that, more than a century after, his name was still venerated there. Arrian is another proof of the suitableness of Hadrian's selections. A distinguished writer, an exact historian, a good general, and a skilful, provident chief of a frontier province, he merited his prince's esteem and he gained that of posterity.

Yet Hadrian has been reproached with base jealousy and

[1] Dion, lxix. 18.
[2] *Id.*, lxix. 19.

cruelty; but it is easy to recognize the source of these reproaches. During his unceasing travels he led the government about with him along all the high roads of the empire. Formerly the real power remained at least in the capital, and from a distance the distinction of Palatine and senate-house was hardly seen. With Hadrian the illusion was no longer possible. What then were the idlers of Rome doing, the old politicians out of office, the young elegants without war, without commands obtained "before their first beard?"[1] What were they saying under the porticoes of the Forum of Trajan, along the Via Sacra, and in all the patrician houses? That the Græculus was moreover a little mind; that this provincial found pleasure in those of his own sort;[2] that this great lover of peace was afraid of war. He was not reproached for his vices, for they were those common to all, nor yet for his cruelty, since no one saw any executions; but it was insinuated that he greatly desired some victims, and his caprices were exaggerated; domestic quarrels between himself and the sophists in his *entourage* were raised to the dignity of State matters. Finally, as his marriage had been sterile, they attributed to Sabina abominable proposals, and without drawing upon the imagination they put into his mouth the words attributed already to Nero's father: "Of her and myself there can only

The Empress Sabina as Venus Genitrix.[3]

[1] *Nec tribunum nisi plena barba faceret* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 10).

[2] *In colloquiis etiam humillimorum civilissimus fuit* (Spart., *ibid.*, 20).

[3] Statue found at the *Augusteum* of Otricoli. (Vatican, *Musée Pio Clem.*, vol. iii. pl. 8).

be born a monster fatal to the human race." It would not do to conspire against a prince who possessed the personal devotion of thirty legions. So this happened only on his accession, when he was thought not to be firmly established, and at the close of his life, when it was thought that mind and hand were grown weak.[1] But they indemnified themselves by misrepresentations: a petty war of which Antoninus was so afraid that he dared not, during his whole reign, leave Rome.

Now, the gossips greedily listened to these scandals and gathered them for others, who put them in writing. This is how we find them in the poor histories of this time—Spartian and Dion, especially the Dion of the monk Xiphilinus. With such writers we are bound to give no consideration to vague accusations, or statements without proof, when they are contradictory to the proved character of men or to well-known events. Thus Dion, attributing to jealousy the abandonment of Trajan's conquests and the destruction of the bridge over the Danube, gives evidence of folly as great as when he makes out Hadrian envious of the dead, even of Homer, and as healing himself of his first attack of dropsy "by reducing, aided by magic and enchantments, the water which swelled his body." Spartian seriously asserts that the emperor "had such a deep knowledge of astrology that he wrote down on the evening before the calends of January all that would happen to him in the coming year." Later on he charges him "with the violence of his natural cruelty," *vim crudelitatis ingenitæ*, and he adds: *idcirco multa pie fecisse.*[2] To admit an innate cruelty which should have the singular effect of being the motive of good actions, something else would be needed besides phrases from which nothing comes when they are sifted. We have had too many examples of this unfortunate mania in a writer of genius like Tacitus, to accept without proofs the statements of authors of the decadence, in whom the critical faculty completely fails as well as the taste for method and precision, but who, in exchange, are already endowed with the silliest credulity.

We read in Dion: "His jealousy of superior talents ruined a

[1] . . . *Quum animo parum valeret, idcircoque despectui haberetur* (Aur. Victor., *de Cæs.*, 14).

[2] *Hadr.*, 16, 23. See, at the beginning of the following chapter, the ridiculous story told by Aur. Victor (*de Cæs.*, 14) respecting the adoption of Antoninus.

great number of people and caused the loss of some. It is in this way that he sought to rid himself of Favorinus the Gaul and of Dionysius the Milesian."[1] One might believe, from these words, that some sad accident happened to these two men. Now Dionysius was created a Roman knight and Favorinus died full of years in the last days of Antoninus. Caught up once by the prince respect-

The Empress Sabina.[2]

ing an expression, he had yielded the point immediately, and his friends rallying him for having given in so quickly, he had replied: "You will never persuade me that the most learned man in the universe is not he who commands thirty legions." It would be just to impute this expression to the want of spirit in the sophist; it is charged to the prince, who is thus represented as

[1] lxix. 3. Spartian says, on the contrary (16), that Favorinus surpassed all others in his friendship, and does not state that this favour had ceased.

[2] Bust in the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 33. The dress is in alabaster.

being impatient of the slightest contradiction. They tell of the same personage that he was astonished at three things: "That a Gaul, he spoke Greek; an eunuch, he had been charged with adultery; and, lastly, hated by the emperor, he was still alive." The eunuch was not at all modest in boasting of having been the object of an emperor's hatred; and if he preserved, as it seems,[1] Antoninus's favour, it is because Hadrian had not even driven him from his court. All the ill perhaps that he had received had been that of seeing himself preferred to other sophists. Dionysius of Miletus, and the philosopher Heliodorus also lost their credit; but Epictetus kept his, and Arrian, his disciple, "was taken from his books" to be made consul.

We know that Hadrian was fond of being surrounded by men of letters and artists—a race sometimes disputatious, and a republic full of storms, because their vanity is always easily aroused. "The prince can give thee wealth and office," said Dionysius to Heliodorus, whom Hadrian had just taken as secretary, "but he will never make an orator of thee." That a wayward mood possessed him on certain days, when fatigued, and that in his disputes with them, on some grammatical or philosophical point, he may have reminded them, by an imperious reply, of the quality of their opponent, would not be astonishing. He was fond of a laugh, and called forth disputes in which he gave back verse for verse, point for point, without sparing his opponent.[2] One of these sophists[3] claims the immunities which the law accords to philosophers: "He, a philosopher," responds Hadrian, "what a mistake!" and he refuses. The expression was hard and the behaviour disobliging; but from a word, even if sharp, to an axe-blow, the distance is great, and I do not believe that it had been overleaped by the prince who loved literature too well to persecute its representatives.

"He honoured and enriched," says his biographer, "all those who gave themselves up to teaching, and sent away, but not till he had loaded them with goods, those who were not capable of

[1] Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Atticæ*, xx. 1.

[2] *Acer nimis ad lacèssendum pariter et respondendum seriis, joco, maledíciis: referre carmen carmini, dictum dictui* (Aur. Victor, *Epit.*, 14).

[3] Favorinus, *ap.* Philostratum, *Vitæ Soph.*, i.

sustaining the renown of their profession."[1] That is our mode of compelling a retirement with all the honours of long service. Let us remark without stopping at their history, that during this reign there flourished: Plutarch, one of Hadrian's masters; Suetonius, his secretary, who lost his favour for an offence against the empress; Phlegon, his freedman, who wrote, under the dictation of his master, his history; Arrian, a skilful and learned captain; Ptolemy, the illustrious geographer; Pausanias, Aulus Gellius; lastly, a famous grammarian, Apollonius Dyscolus or the Ill-tempered. Juvenal was just dead, and Lucian, Apuleius, had as yet written nothing. Thus erudition dominates and higher literature is dead, for while every one makes verses or declaims, neither an orator nor a poet is found.

We have been able to rate cheaply Hadrian's quarrels with the sophists, but there would remain one hateful blot upon his name, if it were true that Apollodorus was put to death in revenge for his criticisms of the plan of a temple designed by the emperor. I find it difficult to believe this wicked act, and what is related about it is very obscure. They say that during Trajan's life Apollodorus became embroiled with the future emperor by referring him to his paintings one day when Hadrian wished to speak to him of his building plans, and that this rudeness was made the ground of his disgrace. Yet he still continued in favour, since the new prince charged him with the construction of a colossus which he wished to dedicate to the Moon, to be placed by the side of that of Nero, which the latter had dedicated to the Sun.[2] The recital of Dion Cassius, or rather of his abbreviator Xiphilinus, is full of inconsistencies. Hadrian, he says, banished Apollodorus, but continued a correspondence with him; he even asked him to write the book on warlike implements of which we have already made mention and which commences thus: "Sir, I have read your letter respecting war machines, and I am glad that you have judged me worthy of executing such a work." Further on he adds, "In my more prosperous days when we were together with the army . . . ." These sad but gentle words do not imply much hatred in the exile's heart towards his persecutor, nor that this

[1] Spart., *Hadr.*, 16.
[2] *Id., ibid.*, 19.

request of the prince was a very strong source of irritation for the persecuted man. There is something here which has not come down to us. If the emperor did not put an end to the penalty of exile, it may be that the senate had pronounced it as the consequence of a fault the recollection of which was still fresh. Dion assures us that Hadrian ended the matter by ordering his death, for having said of a statue which the prince wanted to place seated in a temple: "It is too tall; in rising up it will break the roof." This skilful artist could not possibly have made to so expert a connoisseur an objection contrary to the ideas of the ancients respecting the statues of the gods, and which would have condemned Phidias at the same time as Hadrian. It is just as difficult to admit that the murder of the great architect could take place unperceived. Now Spartian, who is by no means gentle in his accusations of cruelty against the prince, and who speaks of Apollodorus, makes no allusion to his sudden death. Eutropius and Aurelius Victor knew no more of it, or at least say not a word about it. If it be a fact, we must find some other motives than those assigned, for this murder, such as it is related, would have been an act of foolish cruelty, and we have the right to say that Hadrian did not commit such acts.[1]

There is a question which, at the point we have reached of the history of the Empire, must be put respecting each prince: What conduct did he exhibit towards those who were called the "desperate," and who opposed the apotheosis "of the Crucified One" to that of the emperor?

The faith which was expiring encountered that which was beginning, and they mingled like two rivers which have reached their confluence: some Christian sects differed so little from the pagan, that regarded from a distance and hastily, it was hard to distinguish the devotees of the two religions. We have quoted[2] from one of Hadrian's letters, but omitted a passage relating to the Christians in order to introduce it here. "In Egypt," he says, "the Christians are the worshippers of Serapis, even those

[1] Dion, lxix. 4. It must not be forgotten that we have not the text of Dion, and that perhaps the two words, *ἐφόνευσεν αὐτόν*, are an interpolation by Xiphilinus, for, in chapter 2, Dion says of the government of this prince, *φιλανθρωπότατα ἀρξας*, and he only reproaches him for the executions of 119 and 137.

[2] See above, p. 94.

who call themselves Christ's bishops. In this country there is neither Jewish rabbi, nor Samaritan, nor Christian priest, who is not an astrologer, a diviner, and an impostor.[1] Even the patriarch, when he comes to Egypt, is forced by some to worship Serapis, by others Christ." It is clear that Hadrian felt some concern for the problems which were being agitated under him; but like the powerful and fortunate of the time, who regard from a distance and disdain new ideas, he confounded with the God of the Christians him whom the Lagidæ had made the supreme god of life, death, and resurrection.

Yet the emperor ought to have been better informed in Christian dogmas, for, at Athens, he had admitted Aristides, a converted philosopher, and Bishop Quadratus, the earliest apologist, to present to him a defence of their faith (126). The Church, with its organization and rites, then of a simple character, had no power to inspire with disquietude this tolerant prince. He had no wish to accuse them, as Domitian did, of Judaizing, or like Trajan, of forming secret societies, and he connected their doctrine of the Trinity with the purest doctrines of Plato [or with the Egyptian Trinity]. The Christians, whose apologists appeared before him in the philosopher's cloak,[2] seemed to him to form a philosophic school, to which he gave the liberty which he left to all the rest. If they were possessed with a spirit of proselytism, everybody then had it to such a degree that we can consider Seneca, Epictetus, Dion Chrysostom as spiritual directors; that many regarded Apollonius of Tyana as the Messiah; and that the roads and streets were blocked by preaching philosophers whose portrait Lucian has left us, which, except in the matter of dress, is the exact picture of certain mediæval preachers.

Several, and among others, Licinius Silvanus Granianus,[3] proconsul of Asia, wrote to the emperor, that it did not seem just in their opinion to put a man to death because the populace cried:

[1] Vopiscus, *Saturn.*, 8. The word *aliptes*, anointer with oil, is explained by the word *medici* of the preceding chapter, evidently taken in a bad sense.

[2] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.*, ii. 328: "Aristides was a philosopher by profession, and kept its dress when he embraced the faith." Many Christians also wore the philosopher's cloak, as S. Justin testifies (*Dial. cum Tryph.*, init.), and Tertullian after his conversion (*de Pallio*).

[3] See Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiat.*, i. pp. 197 *et seq.*

"To the beasts with the Christian!"[1] We have one of Hadrian's replies, that which was addressed to Minucius Fundanus, the successor of this sensible man. Justin has inserted it entire in his first *Apology*, and Eusebius has given a Greek translation of it in his *Ecclesiastical History*. Without revoking the very precise instructions given by Trajan to Pliny—an act which would have been equivalent to an official recognition of Christianity—Hadrian seems to have sought, by the vagueness of his reply, to furnish a pretext to the judges of only punishing the Christians for breaches of the common law. "If any one," says he, "accuse the Christians and prove that they have done anything contrary to the law, judge them according to the crime that they have committed; if they have been calumniated, punish the calumniator."[2]

It may be said that this granted nothing, since the laws of the Empire condemned the Christians. Without doubt, and first of all, by his rescript, Hadrian interdicted violence, tumultuary executions, and made legal procedure obligatory; then, in an absolute government, the laws depend upon the spirit that applies them; and it was very likely that the imperial administration put the toleration which was intended by its chief into the equivocal expressions made use of by Hadrian, since Justin found that this rescript contained all that the Christians could ask at the hands of the emperors.[3]

Antoninus likewise granted them actual tolerance, which was at first sufficient.

[1] If the letter of Tiberianus, governor of Palestine, given by Malala and Suidas, were authentic, it would be necessary, also, to admit Trajan's reply, ordering Tiberianus and the other governors to leave the Christians in peace. But Tillemont rejects it (vol. ii. p. 578).

[2] It has been thought that the rescript was a sort of amnesty given, in 127, on the occasion of the first *fête* of the *decennalia* of Hadrian.

[3] See Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, iv. 8 and 9, the last edition of S. Justin, by Th. Otto, *S. Justini opera*, Jena, 1847, vol. i. p. 162 *ad fin. Apolog. prima*, οὐκ . . . μᾶλλον ἠξιώσαμεν, and the work of M. Aubé, *Saint Justin, philosophe et martyr*, pp. xlvii.-xlix. Sulpicius Severus and S. Jerome speak of a violent persecution under Hadrian. The Jansenist, le Nain de Tillemont, would like to say as they do, but his impartiality obliges him to say: "Eusebius and the greater part of the others do not relate it. And, in fact, it does not come from any edict of this prince, as it is easy to prove by S. Melito and Tertullian." (*Hist. des Emp.*, ii. p. 319.) S. Irenæus (iii. 3) cites only one martyrdom, that of Telesphorus. Melito, bishop of Sardis, under Marcus Aurelius, complains that the Christians were then persecuted in Asia by the *edicts* of the municipal magistrates, "a thing which," says he, "has never been done," and he does not know whether these edicts were published by the emperor's order or unknown to him. (Euseb., *Hist. eccles.*, iv. 26.) Cf. Dion, lxx. 3, which shows Antoninus "surpassing the marks of esteem with which Hadrian had honoured the Christians."

What would have happened if this policy had been continued by the successors of these two princes; if some had not sought to extinguish Christianity in blood; if others had not delivered up to it the government? All the crimes committed by persecution, which exalted the heroism of the martyrs, would have been avoided, and also the hatred against pagan society, its arts and literature; and Christianity, filtering gradually into men's minds, would have transformed the world peaceably, without becoming, first of all, public authority, next territorial power, having force and employing it, and making martyrs after having itself furnished them. Then would it have been for the Empire an element of regeneration instead of being a cause of dissolution. But the government of the world is by means of passion much more than by wisdom; and this idea of the separation of the temple and the forum, or, to call it by its modern name, the separation of Church and State, which can never enter a Greek or Roman head, is a fruit which will require thousands of years to reach maturity.

As for Hadrian, there remains to him the honour of having acted as if he had a deliberate respect for conscience. Under him, no one, *by order of the prince*, suffered for his belief, either in person or in goods. Yet there were cruel religious wars. In the early days of his reign, his generals had crushed the Jewish insurrection which had broken out under Trajan, at Cyrene, in Egypt, in the isle of Cyprus, where the working of the copper mines, conceded by Augustus to Herod on condition of sharing the revenues with the imperial treasury, had attracted a very large number of Jews. As in all wars made in the name of heaven, abominable cruelties had been committed on both sides. In Cyprus alone 240,000 persons had perished, and the Jews had been forbidden, under pain of death, to set foot in the island: even one who was driven thither by stress of weather obtained no mercy.[1] Elsewhere, similar cruelties; not only are tortures spoken of, but immense massacres and cannibalism. "In Cyrenaica," says Orosius,[2]

[1] Dion, lxiii. 32. The historian Appian took part in this war, and nearly fell a victim in it; see the curious fragment of his xxivth book, found and commented on by M. Miller, *Rev. archéol.*, 1869.

[2] vii. 12. Cf. S. Jerome, *Chron.*, *ad ann.* 121, and Eckhel, *Doctr. num. vet.*, vol. vi. p. 497.

"almost the whole population had perished, and if Hadrian had not sent there numerous bodies of colonists, the land would have been void of inhabitants and uncultivated."

This time it was the [Jewish] colonies who had taken up arms. Exhausted of inhabitants, and moreover held in check by powerful garrisons, watched by skilful generals, the mother country had not possessed the strength to commence war on a large scale by means of arms; but it continued the struggle, and on the ruins of the material country some men had given themselves the task of creating the spiritual country of the Hebrew people.

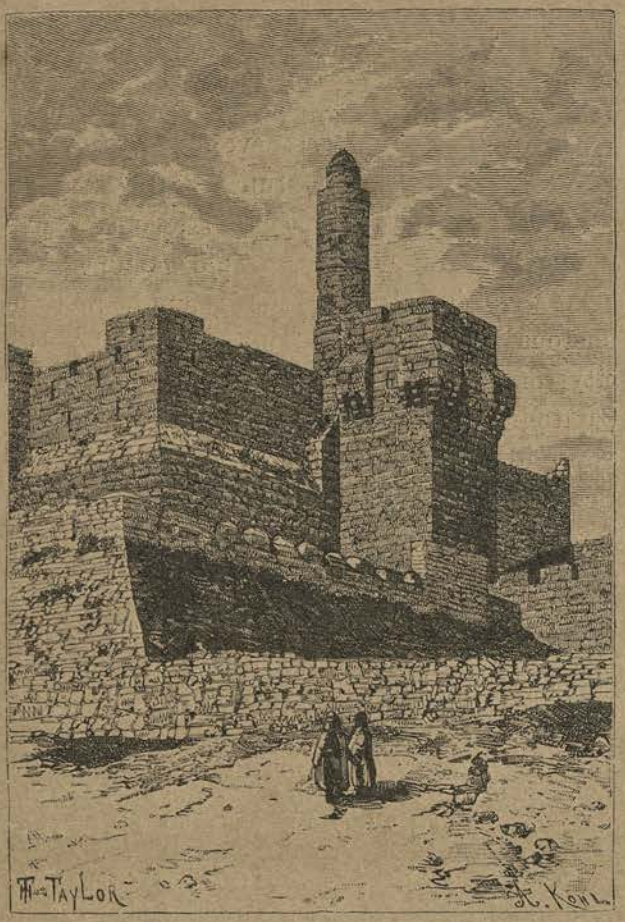
After the fall of Jerusalem the doctors of the law who had survived that awful catastrophe took refuge at Iabné (Jamnia), later on at Tiberias, and had there opened schools, which kept alive the zeal for the law amongst the vanquished, which nothing could extinguish, because they felt themselves in possession of doctrine superior to the force which had overwhelmed them.

It was by the schools, by the doctrinal teaching such as it was then understood, that the national movement was prepared, and it was in them that the Jews placed their hopes of safety. The legend of Akiba, the most celebrated of these doctors of the law,[1] is a touching evidence of it. In his youth the new Moses kept the flocks of Kalba Scheboua. His master's daughter, struck with the character of the young shepherd, asked him to marry her, but on condition that he should go previously to get instruction and to gain disciples. Akiba went; at the end of twelve years he returned, followed by 12,000 disciples, and while approaching the house of his bride he overheard the father saying angrily to his daughter: "Foolish child! how long dost thou mean to await unmarried him who has abandoned thee?" And she replied: "If my spouse intends to do as I desire him, he will pass twelve years more in study." Akiba immediately returned to his books, and after the prescribed time came back with 24,000 disciples. His bride rushed to meet him who had become the most celebrated of the doctors of the law, threw herself at his feet and embraced his knees. The disciples would have repulsed this woman in rags,

[1] "Like Ezra, he is called the Restorer of the Law, and compared to Moses" (Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 396).

in whom they had not recognized their native land in mourning; but the master cried out: "What are you doing? She it is to whom you owe all your knowledge."

Till then, among the Jews, teaching had been oral, traditional; the Law only was written. The school of Tiberias, foreseeing new

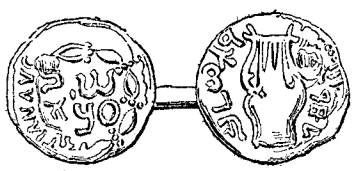


Remains of the Fortifications of Jerusalem, called the "Tower of Hippicus."

misfortunes and a new dispersion, resolved to reduce to writing, after having discussed them for the last time, all the decisions of the doctors, all the prescriptions that usage had introduced, all the rules of conduct that wisdom had found out. This was the code of laws, civil and religious, the *Mishna* or *law repeated*, which the school reduced to writing, to constitute, for all time and place, the moral bond of the nation.

When the school of Tiberias had prepared this immense work, a final tempest might arise and the Jews of Palestine perish in battles or executions: the Jewish nationality was saved.

In order to prevent the return of these insurrections which imperilled peace in the East, Hadrian did not have recourse to religious persecutions against individuals. He thought he should make them renounce their imperishable expectations of the advent of Messiah if he proved to them the hopelessness of those promises by blotting out even the name of Jerusalem. On the ruins of the Temple there had been encamping, since the great siege, a part of the legion *Xa Fretensis*;[1] Hadrian employed it in clearing the ground, and in the year 122 (?) a numerous colony was established at the foot of Mount Zion. The city of David took the name of the emperor and of Jupiter Capitolinus, *Ælia Capitolina.* On the places where every year the faithful came to worship Jehovah, the only God, they found the altars of all the Olympian divinities. Even the rite peculiar to their faith was proscribed: the imperial police prohibited the Jews from circumcizing men of foreign race.[3]



Coin of Bar Kokaba.[2]

The Jews appeared resigned to the loss of their political independence; they rose to avenge the outrage done to their God (132). Insurrections burst forth at various points; then all the

[1] See *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1872, p. 158.

[2] *Simon*, in a crown of laurel; traces of the Latin inscription TIAN. AVG. On the reverse, *Deliverance of Jerusalem*, around a three-stringed lyre. Jewish coin, restruck on a denarius of Domitian.

[3] Spart., *Hadr.*, 13. Hadrian had not interdicted the circumcision of Jews by birth, which would have been a religious persecution, and he felt repugnance to such a measure, which no emperor had ever ordered; he had simply renewed the edict of Vespasian, which forbade Jewish propagandism outside the nation. (*Hist. des Romains*, vol. iv. p. 726.) Some too zealous agents having made a general measure of it, Antoninus explained that the prohibition did not apply to the sons of Jews. (*Digest*, xlviii. 8, 11). The imperial policy had, in these and other like questions, such continuity that the measures of Severus respecting the Jews were the same as those of Vespasian: *Judæos fieri vetuit.* One of the principal arguments of S. Justin in his *Apology* to prove the truth of Christianity is that the Christians are persecuted and that the Jews are not. When he enumerates (*Dial.*, 16, 19, 46) the ills which have struck the Jews since their revolt, he does not mention the prohibition of circumcision. On the contrary, he says, "That rite was given you in order to separate you from the other nations, and that you should suffer alone what you now suffer justly." And those evils, he adds, have been the desolation of their country by war, their cities delivered to the flames, and their being interdicted from going up to Jerusalem.

people armed themselves under the leadership of a man who showed such courage and audacity that the Jews, again deceived by the never-ceasing illusion, saw in him the promised Saviour, "the Star which was to arise out of Jacob." Akiba, recognizing him as being the promised Messiah of Israel, handed him, in the presence of the chiefs of the nation, the commander's staff, and held his stirrup when the "Son of the Star," Bar Kokaba, mounted his war-horse.[1]

The Romans were surprised, and suffered at first some checks, which were concealed, and during three years the national chief was master in "the royal mountain," a chain of heights which stretches from Samaria to Idumæa. We still possess some coins which he caused to be struck, and which are dated by the years "of the deliverance."[2] The Christians, as at the time of the siege of Jerusalem, kept themselves apart; accused of betraying the common cause, they were persecuted and put to death when they refused to abjure.[3] But auxiliaries came from all the neighbouring countries, and what the emperor had at first regarded as one of those local disorders about which the Romans used not to trouble themselves, took the form of a public peril which required the most energetic measures. He summoned from the depths of Britain his best general, Julius Severus, gave him able lieutenants, sufficient forces, and ordered him to avoid general actions, to advance slowly but surely, leaving behind him neither man nor house. More than 900 large villages were destroyed, fifty strong places taken and razed, 180,000 men perished with arms in their hands. "But who can compute," says the historian, "those who succumbed to hunger, to misery, or to the flames of the conflagrations?" Judæa was nothing but a desert.[4] Bar Kokaba died a soldier's death—he fell fighting; the doctors of the law, who had shut themselves up in the last fortress belonging to the insurrection, Bether, died in tortures; Akiba

[1] We do not know his real name. M. Derenbourg (*Biblioth. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. xxx[e]) and M. Renan (*l'Église chrétienne*, p. 197) call him Bar Kôzîbà and Bar or Ben Coziba, the son of Coziba. [It is often written Barchocheba.—*Ed.*]

[2] Cf. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 154 *et seq.*; de Saulcy, *Lettres sur la numismatique judaïque* (*Revue numismatique*, 1865); Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 424. M. Renan (*op. cit.*, p. 547) believes that the coinage of Bar Coziba only consisted of restruck coins.

[3] S. Justin, *Apol. IIa*, and Orosius, vii. 13.

[4] *Itiner. Hierosolym.*, p. 159, edit. Wessel.

was torn in pieces by red-hot pincers, and the wild beasts of the Roman amphitheatres were glutted with the flesh of the captives. To those not killed or sold as captives approach was forbidden to *Ælia Capitolina;* only one day annually were they permitted to come and weep over the ruins of the Holy City.[1]

When, on seeing the leader of the insurrection, Akiba had exclaimed: "Behold the Messiah!" a doctor had replied: "Akiba, the grass will have grown between thy jaws before the Messiah appears;"[2] and it seemed that this hard saying was true for the race itself. The work of blood had been foiled, and it might be thought that this people was annihilated: but the work of the spirit triumphed.

It was in vain to scatter them over all the continents, and let loose against them all the furies, like Æneas conveying from the ruins of Troy the Penates and the sacred fire of the national hearth, the fugitives went forth with a new ark of the covenant. The school of Tiberias, kept in the background, completed the great work of the *Mishna;* and the common country found itself wherever the book which represented it was carried. Thanks to it, from the banks of the Ganges to the borders of the Tagus, from the depths of Poland to the foot of Mount Atlas, the Jews so well preserved their language and law, that throughout the Middle Ages their doctors went from one end of Europe to the other and everywhere found fellow-citizens.

This people of the Unity, who have always desired one only God and only one Temple, had need of but one book in order not to perish. What a triumph of mind over force![3]

[1] Dion, lxix. 12–14. Hadrian demanded in the senate the triumphal decorations for Julius Severus, *ob res in Judæa prospere gestas* (*C. I. L.*, iii. No. 2,830), and he himself then received his second salutation as imperator.

[2] Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

[3] The *Mishna* includes six books, each of which is divided into several treatises, divided into more than 500 chapters. The numerous comments, made in the course of centuries on the different parts of the *Mishna*, have formed the two Talmuds. The *Massora* or *transmission* was entirely a system of punctuation, signs and writing, contrived to make unalterable the text of the sacred books, copies of which, minutely collated with the originals, were solemnly delivered after a public benediction. Thus it is that the Jews raised a *quickset hedge*, to use their expression, around their national faith, in order to prevent the intrusion of any foreign element; and this sort of moral fortification has protected the new Jerusalem better than the cyclopean walls of the city of David. The *Kabbala* was another arm, but for offensive warfare. It was a means for giving circulation, in spite of the enemy's vigilance, to the projects, hopes, and doctrines,

Jews wailing, leaning against the Wall of Jerusalem.

However, Hadrian was advancing in years; the dark years had come with old age and infirmities; there was need to think of the future emperor.

Like all the princes since Cæsar, except Claudius and Vespasian, Hadrian had no son. He obtained the authorization of the senate to nominate his successor, a thing easy to demand, dangerous to obtain, for if it gave in advance the legal consecration to the prince's choice, which was a guarantee of order, it set in movement all ambitions, and aroused the hopes which disappointment might turn into discontent.

He hesitated a long time, and when one of his friends showed his astonishment: "It is very easy for you," he replied, "to speak so, who seek an heir for your property and not for the Empire." At last he decided in favour of L. Ceionius Commodus Verus, son-in-law of that C. Avidius Nigrinus who had conspired against him.[1] Was it a reparation granted to the family of a man whom he had loved and a protest against the haste of the senate in putting him to death? At any rate, Hadrian, by this resolution, showed himself to be above the petty spites of a vulgar mind. A gift of 300,000,000 sesterces to the soldiers and of 100,000,000 to the people secured their assent.

Verus, descended from an old Etrurian family, had, says his biographer, a kingly beauty, and this beauty served as a pretext to the slanderous tongues of Rome as an explanation of his adoption. The man who, after Verus, secured the Empire

which the initiated alone could understand by the aid of a combination of letters, figures, and Biblical quotations, of which they had the key. Our correspondences by cipher come from it.

[1] Much discussion has taken place on the date that ought to be assigned to L. Verus's adoption. If we were reduced simply to the evidence of Spartian (*Hadr.*, 23; *Æl. Ver.*, 3) we ought to place it before his prætorship, *i.e.*, before the year 130. But the monuments are in opposition to this; on all those which are dated from his first consulship (136) he is called *L. Ceionius Commodus* (Orelli, Nos. 1,681, 4,354, 6,086), and it is only on those which are dated from the second (137) that he is styled *L. Ælius Cæsar* (Orelli, Nos. 828, 856, 6,527). It was therefore in 136, and, following Borghesi (*Œuvres*, vol. viii. p. 457), between June 19 and August 29, that he was adopted, declared Cæsar, and sent into the two Pannonias with proconsular powers (see *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 4,366). The passage of the letter written to Servianus in 134, and in which Hadrian calls him his son, *filium meum Verum* (see p. 94), can be explained only by supposing that this prince nominated him thus by anticipation, having at that time decided to adopt him, and already made known his intention to his family, although he wished to complete this adoption only after his return to Rome, before the people and the pontiffs, according to the solemn forms of the *adrogatio*.

to Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius, cannot have been influenced by the ignoble motives ascribed to him. Besides, Verus had eloquence and talents, although he led the elegant and voluptuous life of the rich patricians. Sent, after his adoption, into Pannonia he behaved well. In sending him a long way from Rome Hadrian desired to shelter him from the plots which were likely to be formed, and had given him the command of the Pannonian legions in order to have well in hand, through his adopted son, the nearest army to Italy.

L. Ælius Verus Cæsar, Hadrian's adopted Son. (Statue in the Museum of the Louvre.)

The choice, in fact, that Hadrian had just made and the uncertain health of the emperor, his presence in Rome or at the gates of the city, in his palace at Tibur, consequently the facility for striking a blow, had encouraged the Roman aristocracy to resume its favourite practices;[1] it formed conspiracies, and so furnished victims. These tragedies are very obscure. It is certain that some executions took place and that the senate became exasperated; but not at all so certain that the most moderate of emperors had without reason renounced his moderation. These changes of view in the character and conduct of men of ripe age and experience take place only in the schools of the rhetoricians. The prince who, during twenty years, had struck no one, who, when offended by certain people, in place of punishing them was satisfied with writing to their province that

[1] They conspired even under Antoninus, the prince after the senate's own heart : see *infra*.

he withdrew his friendship from them,[1] does not become an executioner all at once; he must continue to be what we know he was, an administrator of justice.

Dion imputes to him but two sentences of capital punishment: at the beginning of his reign that of four consulars, put to death by the senate unknown to the prince; at the end, that of Servianus and his grandson Fuscus, who had disapproved, says he, the selection of Verus. Servianus, the prince's brother-in-law, had played him many bad turns. When, at the death of Nerva, Hadrian hastened to inform Trajan that he was emperor, Servianus had used every means to hinder him, in order to prevent him from arriving before the courier whom he himself had despatched. Another time he had succeeded in estranging Trajan by making known to the uncle his nephew's debts. Hadrian, however, had not kept in mind these shabby proceedings, and on many occasions he had honoured Servianus by public marks of deference; Spartian maintains even that he had declared him to be worthy of the Empire.[2] At ninety years of age Servianus was too old for such a pretension, without being sufficiently wise to avoid the appearance of a dangerous ambition.[3] He doubtless limited his desire to this, that the emperor should adopt his grandson. But Fuscus, who was eighteen in 137, and consequently only fourteen or fifteen when the question of the

L. Julius Ursus Servianus, Hadrian's Brother-in-law. (Visconti, *Iconog. Rom.*, i. pl. 139.)

[1] Dion, lxix. 23. "If he were absolutely forced to punish a citizen having a family, he moderated the penalty in proportion to the number of the children." (*Id., ibid.*)

[2] Spart., *Hadr.*, 23.

[3] *Servianum quasi adfectatorem imperii, quod servis regiis cœnam misisset, quod in sedili regio juxta lectum posito sedisset, quod erectus ad stationes militum senex nonogenarius processisset . . . . Fuscum, quod imperium præsagiis et ostentis agitatus speraret* (Spart., *ibid.*, 23; cf. Dion, lxix. 17).

succession to the Empire was mooted, could not be chosen by a prince who already saw the premonitory signs of his own end. Verus's increasing favour estranged Servianus, whom a third consulate in 134 could not satisfy. Fuscus, still less reserved, allowed himself to be unsettled by some pretended prodigies which promised him the sovereign power. Around these a party must have been formed capable of creating embarrassment to Verus and disorders in the Empire, to account for our sensible prince causing this foolish young man to be put to death, and not even awaiting the natural end of an old man at the very verge of life. These two executions not the less are a blot on Hadrian's life.

Spartian mentions some other persons who on this occasion fell under the disfavour of the prince, two individuals whom he forced to commit suicide, even some soldiers and freedmen "whom he persecuted."[1] But were they mere outbursts of anger or the execution of just sentences? From want of information we cannot reply to this twofold question. Only, this author says that the adoption of Antoninus disconcerted many aspirants; that Catilius Severus, prefect of the city, who sought to pave his way to the throne, was deprived of his office; and in seeing him punish even freedmen and soldiers, one feels compelled to admit that we here find united the usual components of a real conspiracy.[2]

We find reference also to the misunderstanding which existed between Hadrian and the empress. These domestic details have nothing to do with political history; yet, as Dion quotes some cruel expressions of Sabina, and as it was even

[1] . . . . *Libertos denique et nonnullos milites insecutus est* (Spart., *ibid.*, 15).

[2] Leaving out the only victims mentioned by Dion, that is to say, the conspirators of 119, whose execution Hadrian regretted, and those of 137, who had as leaders an old man and a boy whom the prince ought to have spared, we find named by Spartian, to justify the imputation of cruelty, only Plætorius Nepos and Attianus, in regard to whom the expression *hostium loco habuit* (Spart., 15) seems to mean only *a dissolution of friendship* (cf. *id.*, 23; see on Plætorius Nepos, Borghesi, *Œuvres*, vol. iii. pp. 122 *et seq.*); Septicius Clarus, whom he dismissed for improper conduct towards the empress; Titianus, *quem, ut conscium tyrannidis, et argui passus est et proscribi*, which means confiscation of his estate; Umidius Quadratus and Catilius Severus, *quos graviter insecutus est*, which does not prove that they had suffered any penalty. Besides, Spartian forgets that, in another chapter (24) he charges Severus with conspiracy. As regards Polyænus and Marcellus, *quos ad mortem voluntariam coegit* (15) we know nothing of them. We saw earlier what concerns Apollodorus and the sophists, and we shall now see what regards Sabina.

inferred that her husband poisoned her,[1] we must point out here the improbabilities. In 120, while far away in Britain, Hadrian showed his affection or esteem for her by dismissing one of the imperial secretaries, Suetonius, a prefect of the prætorium, Septicius Clarus, and many other personages who had failed in respect towards the empress. There is nothing to assure us that she did not accompany him in all his travels; we know at least that she was certainly his companion in the last, the grand tour in the East—a fact not showing a union in which life in common was unbearable. The public did not believe these family dissensions: coins were struck bearing the double effigy of the prince and empress; inscriptions were carved, in which, under their united names, were the words: "To the benefactors of the city."[2] The apotheosis which Hadrian decreed her was only an official ceremony; but we have some of his private letters which show a heart where good feelings and not storms of anger reigned. One day he thus wrote to his mother: "All hail, very dear and excellent mother, whatever you ask of the gods for me I ask the same for you. By Hercules, I am delighted that my acts seem to you worthy of praise. To-day is my birth-day; we must take supper together. Come, then, well dressed, with my sisters. Sabina, who is at our villa, has sent her share for the family repast."[4] Another very friendly letter, written to Servianus, his brother-in-law, in the year 134, when he had just given him a third consulate, ends thus: ". . . . I send you some cups of changing colours

Antoninus.[3]

[1] *Non sine fabula veneni defuncta* (Spart., 23). If the empress was *morosa et aspera* (*id.*, 11), he had the law to enable him to separate from her by a divorce; a crime was not necessary.

[2] *Locupletatoribus municipii* (Gabii). (Orelli, No. 816.)

[3] Engraved stone (nicolo of 62 millim. by 44) in the Cabinet of France, No. 2,093. The letters A. V., engraved on this fine intaglio, have been added by a modern.

[4] Dositheus, § 15, *Corp. juris antejust.* ed. Böcking, vol. i. p. 212.

[iridescent glass], which the priest of the temple has given me. I have kept them quite especially for you and my sister, and I beg that you will use them at your meetings on *fête* days. Yet take care that our Africanus" (doubtless some child of the family) "does not use them with too much freedom."[1] Sabina's murder in 137 is therefore a supposed crime of which Hadrian's memory may be exonerated. But such fairness would not have suited the drawing-rooms of Rome, where calumnies had been current even against Plotina, where many others prevailed also against the two Faustinas, and it is quite natural that they should have persecuted Hadrian in his private life, doubtless with as much truth as they attacked him in his public life.

Hadrian and Sabina: Obverse and Reverse of a Bronze Coin.

Verus lived only a short time after his adoption.[2] "I have leant against a crumbling wall," said Hadrian, and he sought another successor. Dion relates that he called together to the palace the most considerable of the senators, and thus addressed them: "My friends, nature has not granted me a son, but you have permitted me by law to adopt one, well knowing that nature often gives a father a child that is a cripple or an imbecile, while, by a careful choice, one may be found who is as well endowed in body as in mind. Thus it was that I first chose Lucius. Since the gods have removed him, I have chosen to replace him by an emperor of illustrious birth, mild and prudent, readily accessible, whose age separates him equally from the rashness of youth and the indifference of old age; submissive to the laws and customs of our ancestors, ignorant of nothing that relates to government, and resolved to make an honourable use of power. I speak of Aurelius Antoninus, here present. While I know his profound aversion for public life I hope he will neither refuse me nor

[1] Vopiscus, *Saturn.*, 8. Sabina, doubtless at this moment along with the prince, is not mentioned in this letter, but Hadrian's words are a fresh proof of the intimacy then prevailing in the imperial family.

[2] He died January 1, 138. (Orelli, No. 827.)

you to take on himself such a burden, and that, in spite of his contrary desire, he will accept the Empire."[1] These are indeed a prince's words, and the choice was decided by serious reasons. In seeking for this scene in Aurelius Victor we see what the anecdote mongers make of history.

Antoninus was neither a relation nor an intimate friend of the prince; there was need even to grant him some time that he might make up his mind to accept what would be for him but gilded chains. As he no longer had a son, Hadrian used his higher authority to constitute a legal family for him; he caused him to adopt the son of the Cæsar recently deceased, and M. Annius Verus, whose superior mind and great capacities had already struck him; so he was pleased to term him, making a pun on his name, the very true, *Verissimus*.

Ælius Verus Cæsar, as *Bonus Eventus*.[2]

The adoption of Verus had made victims, that of Antoninus only malcontents, among whom was the prefect of the city, Catilius Severus, who had taken steps for gaining the Empire.[3] The matter was serious, for Severus held Rome by his cohorts, the senate by his connections, and his dignity assured him in reality the

[1] Dion, lxix. 20.

[2] Statue found at Cumæ. Museum Campana, Henry d'Escamps, *op. cit.*, No. 91.

[3] *Antonini adoptionem plurimi tunc factam esse doluerunt, speciatim Catilius Severus, præfectus urbi, qui sibi præparabat imperium. Qua re prodita, successore accepto, dignitate privatus est* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 24).

next place in rank in the Empire to the emperor. The recent severities had given him prudence; his intrigues did not go far, and he got off by giving up his office, which did not involve any great severity.[1] But this indulgence will astonish those only who on vague accusations believe in Hadrian's cruelty.

Ælius Verus Cæsar. (Large Bronze, Cohen, No. 52.)

The affairs of the State being arranged, the prince desired to end his own; he suffered cruelly, and urgently demanded poison or a sword, and as these were refused him, he complained of not being free to take his own life while he still had the power of condemning others to death. He died (10th July, 138) while laughing at the physicians, at whom one generally laughs in health;[2] some days before he had composed these verses, well worth having Pope as their translator:

Ah! fleeting spirit, wandering fire,
That long hast warm'd my tender heart,
Must thou no more this frame inspire?
No more a pleasing, cheerful guest?
Whither, ah, whither art thou flying,
To what dark undiscover'd shore?
Thou seem'st all trembling, shivering, dying,
And art and humour are no more.

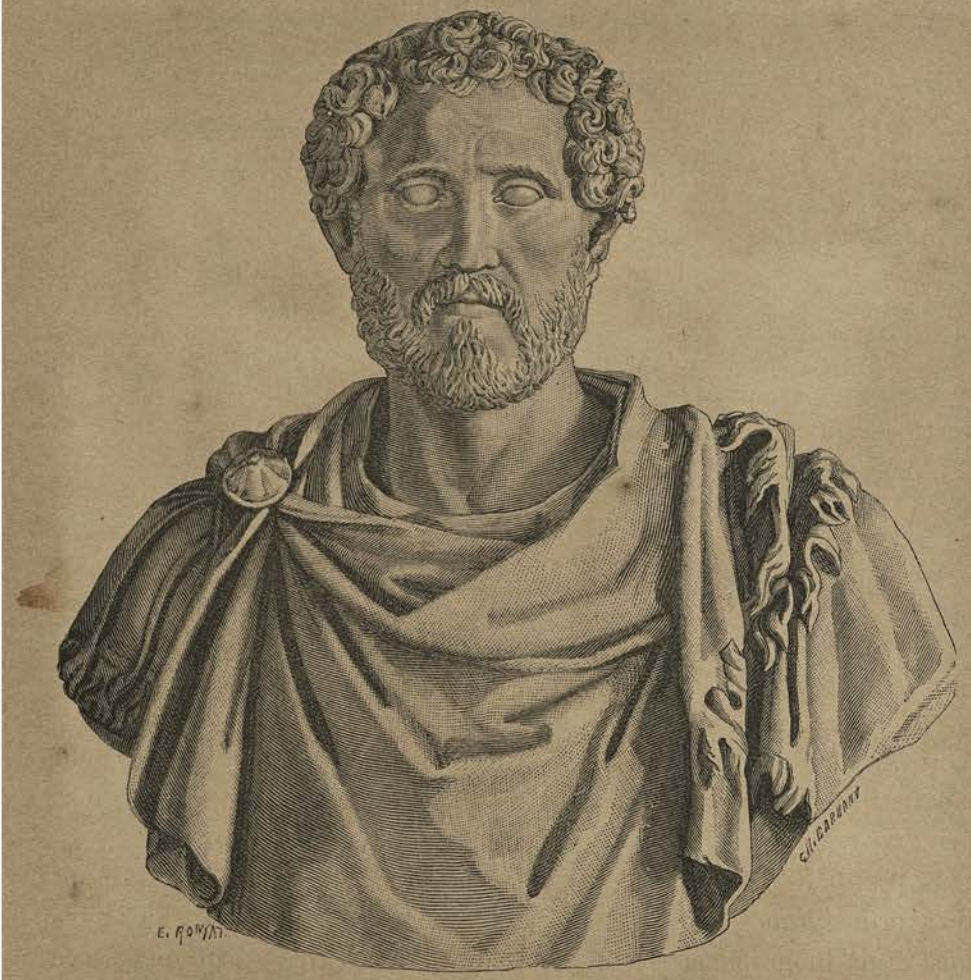
This whim was just like the man who, when adopting Verus, said: "I am now about making a god!" and who would have willingly said with Rabelais: "I am going to seek a great peradventure."

We believe we have given in its true light the portrait of this prince, and have restored to him those features which his unskilful biographers have defaced. Thus, this man of peace who, during a reign of twenty-one years, did not make a single war, is the one of all the emperors who maintained the most rigorous discipline in the legions and the profoundest peace in

[1] Mention is made of other individuals whose execution Hadrian ordered and whom Antoninus saved. The adoption took place on 25th February, Hadrian's death on 10th July. Now he preserved up to the last moment all his clearness of intellect, and it is difficult to allow that if, in these four months and a half, he had pronounced a sentence of death, it would not have been executed.

[2] Ἐτελεύτησε, λέγων καὶ βοῶν τὸ δημῶδες, ὅτι "Πολλοὶ ἰατροὶ βασιλέα ἀπώλεσαν" (Dion, lxix. 22).

the State.[1] This Athenian to whom there is imputed a certain vice of the age, but to whom one would readily excuse somewhat of effeminacy, was more sober than Cato.[2] This traveller, who seemed occupied only with the beauty of localities and monu-



Antoninus (Bust in the Vatican).

ments, this philosopher, who took pleasure in scholastic discussions, looked after everything: civil administration, military administration, and into all he introduced admirable order. Vain, it is asserted, he yet disdained titles and pomp;[3] envious of all forms

[1] *Disciplinam civilem non aliter tenuit quam militarem* (Spart., *Hadr.*, 22).

[2] . . . . ἡρίστα ἄνευ οἴνου (Dion, lxix. 7).

[3] He did not like his name engraved on the edifices which he raised; if many cities took it,

of talent, he furnished more occasions than any other for their exhibition; an irascible and jealous man of letters, he honoured literature and pensioned learned men. In fine, if history had the means of criticizing certain cruel acts which are imputed to him, it would probably have to show him a dispenser of justice.

Circular Monument at Baalbec.

From the monument at Lambessa, from Dion Cassius and Spartian, we know what Hadrian required of his soldiers; from the *Periplus* of Arrian, what he required of his generals; from the *Poliorcetica* of Apollodorus, what he expected of his engineers; from inscriptions and medals, whatever watchful solicitude he imposed on himself for the provinces. Pausanias has shown us how he

if many monuments bore it (Spart., *Hadr.*, 18–19), that was a municipal affair; and this kind of flattery belongs to all times.

embellished the cities, and Hadrian's Wall in what manner he defended the frontiers. The senatus-consulta preserved in the *Digest* give us the character of his legislation, and the rescript respecting the Christians an example of his political wisdom. In short, in reflecting that he made besides an important reform in the government and codified the Roman laws, we must indeed recognize in him the fruitful activity of superior intelligence and not the sterile working of an unquiet mind.

His reign marks, between those of Augustus and Constantine, the second period of the imperial monarchy—that which was at one and the same time the most brilliant and the most fortunate. We have the proof of this in the ruins which are still to be seen in the Syrian desert and even in the African oases. These endless colonnades, these streets of monuments, these remains of gigantic temples, as well as the majestic ruins of Palmyra, Baalbec, Gerasa, etc., which belong to the age of the Antonines, were the work of a happy and rich people. "After the great terror of the year 1000," says a writer of the Middle Ages, "and the return of confidence and security, they began everywhere to rebuild the basilicas, and the world put on the white robe of the churches." The same had been the case in the Empire, and from analogous causes. This efflorescence of art, which was exhibited in splendid monuments from the banks of the Rhone to those of the Euphrates, was the product of Roman peace. For two centuries there had been no foreign wars, or at least no cause for serious disquietude on the frontiers; in the interior, except the disorders which followed upon the death of Nero, no civil wars; in the cities, no outbreaks. Hadrian's reign is the culminating point of this prosperity in which, thanks to him, his successor could keep the world; and, contrary to habit, his contemporaries, if not at Rome at least in the provinces, had the consciousness of this, and expressed their gratitude for it. Among

One of the Temples of Baalbec (Heliopolis), on a Bronze Coin.

Felicity.

Festivity.[1]

[1] FELICITATI AVG. COS. III. P. P. Vessel with rowers. HILARitas Pontifex Maximus, TER COS. Silver coins.

the 1,200 medals which are known to be of Hadrian's time[1] a large number was the product of official flattery; but can one assert that some did not reflect the true feeling of the population, those, for example, which bore the inscription: *Felicitati Aug.* On one of these medals Hadrian and public Felicity, both standing up, are holding hands;[2] on another, Festivity, *Hilaritas P. R.*, represented by a fair young woman, who puts aside with her hands the veil which was hiding her face, in order to let the joy of the Roman people be seen—pleasing signs in which all was surely not deception.

Could Hadrian have done more?

Hadrian might have been able to accomplish the great political task Augustus had not dared [as we have shown] to undertake, and with greater ease, because he understood the provinces better, and these afforded a better source of popularity, and because they, at that time, included a greater number of Roman citizens. But he had only a vague feeling of this necessity, and his institutions tended only to introduce into the government more order and justice without touching the absolute power, so that, after as before him, the fortune of the Empire will depend upon the capacities or the vices of the emperor. In this direction Hadrian is lost in the crowd of his predecessors, not one of whom had recognized the situation.

Yet one cannot demand of a man that he should be a strong reformer; and justice is done by confining oneself to the examination, how he lived in the position where he found himself placed, what advantage he knew how to derive from the circumstances which history had created. From this point of view, in spite of his imperfect ideal of government, Hadrian will remain a great prince. And if I am asked what emperor has done the most good, and most deserves to be imitated, I should reply: This intelligent, firm prince, without cowardly complaisances towards soldiers and people,[3] who had tolerance for ideas and none for abuses; who made law reign, and not arbitrary rule; who organized a formidable army, not for useless conquests, but in

[1] This is, at least, nearly the number of those which have been described by M. Cohen.

[2] Cohen, *Hadr.*, 230 and 268.

[3] See Dion Cassius, lxix. 6 and 16.

order that, behind this impregnable rampart, the genius of peace might fertilize all the sources of the public weal; who, in short, as foreseeing at the last hour of his life as he had been skilful during his reign, assured two generations of excellent leaders to the Roman world. When the glory of princes will be measured by the happiness which they have given to their peoples, Hadrian will stand forth the first of the Roman emperors.[1]

[1] [So Merivale calls him (*Hist. of the Romans*, vii. p. 251) "the best of the imperial series."—*Ed.*]

Figure from the Parthenon (after Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage arch. en Grèce*, etc.).

CHAPTER LXXXI.

ANTONINUS AND MARCUS AURELIUS (138-180 A.D.).

I.—Antoninus (138–161).

"I should have wished," says one of our old chroniclers, "that there had fallen to me a share of eloquence like that of the ancients; but one draws with difficulty from a source whose waters are dried up. The world grows old, the edge of our acuteness is blunted, and no one of this age can resemble the orators of the past." This misgiving would suit the compilers of the *Augustan History*, for they have neither the flame which glows and illumines, nor the patient courage of those who know at least how to collect materials for the more skilful. The biography of Antoninus Pius by Julius Capitolinus is even more meagre than that of Hadrian by Spartian. It contains in a few pages the history of a reign of twenty-three years, and reduces us to say of this emperor these words only, which are sufficient for his glory, but too few for our curiosity: *transiit benefaciendo*, he passed through life doing good.[1]

As early as the time of Xiphilinus, the chapter in which Dion Cassius related the history of this prince has been lost, and if we wish to judge of what value the *abbreviators* are who are at present our principal resource, let the narrative of Aurelius Victor be read, telling how Antoninus's adoption took place. It will then be understood how such writers naturally recall to our mind the chroniclers of the Middle Ages, nor will there be any astonishment felt at our having brought bold criticism into the midst of these puerile tales: ". . . . Hadrian summoned the senate to create a Cæsar. As the senators were hastening to the assembly, the

[1] His first names were *Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus;* after his accession he was called *T. Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius;* he was born September 19th, 86, in the villa of Lanuvium. For the consular *fasti* of 138–147, see Lacour-Gayet, in vol. i. of the *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome.*

emperor by chance perceived Antoninus, who was upholding with his arm the tottering steps of an old man, his father-in-law or his father. Filled with admiration at the sight, Hadrian caused all the necessary ceremonies to be performed for the adoption of Antoninus as Cæsar, and he ordered the massacre of the senators who turned him into ridicule. After his death, the senate, unmoved by the prayers of the new prince, refused to decree to Hadrian the honours of apotheosis, so much afflicted was it by the loss of so many members! But when it suddenly saw those reappear whose decease it was deploring, each one after having embraced his friends finished by granting what had at first been refused." These are the fabulous stories which malignity had circulated, which folly accepted, and which give us the measure of respect due to such intellects.

Galerius Antoninus, Son of Antoninus Pius and the Elder Faustina.[1] (Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 40.)

Antoninus's ancestors, originally from Nîmes,[2] had exercised the highest functions at Rome and had made themselves remarkable by the dignity of their life. Five times had the consular fasces been

[1] GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ANTONINE FAMILY.

Titus Aurelius Fulvus, Consul in 85 and 89, and City Prefect. — Titus Arrius Antoninus, married Boiania Procilla.

Aurelius Fulvus, Consul not mentioned in the Fasti. — married — Arria Fadilla.

Titus Aurelius Fulvus, became after his adoption: T. Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus; married Annia Galeria Faustina.

M. Galerius Antoninus. — M. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus. — Aurelia Fadilla. — Annia Faustina, wife of emperor M. Aurelius.

[2] From the time of Tiberius this city had possessed the *jus Latii*, which gave the freedom of the Roman City to those of the inhabitants who had held there any municipal office.

borne by that house, and it was said of his father that he was a man of integrity and of pure morals,[1] of his grandfather that it was impossible to find a cause of reproach against him, *homo sanctus*. The latter, Arrius Antoninus, was that friend of Nerva who felt pity for the old consular because he exchanged a private condition for that of emperor. Antoninus inherited these virtues and this moderation. He was consul (120), pro-consul of Asia (128 or 129), judge (*judex*) of one of the four Italian provinces, and member of the imperial consistory, functions which prove that for a long time past Hadrian's attention had been drawn towards him. His wife, the elder Faustina, had borne him four children, of whom two sons had died before his accession. He lost one of his two daughters during his proconsulship of Asia; the other was the younger Faustina who married Marcus Aurelius.

Faustina, Wife of Antoninus Pius. (Bust in the Capitol, Gallery, No. 2.)

An able manager of his patrimonial estate, Antoninus augmented his fortune by economy and not by usury, for he lent money below the legal rate; he employed it in helping his friends much more than on his own pleasures, and once made prince, he appropriated his income to the wants of the State. On his accession he refused the *aurum coronarium* which Italy wished to present him, and accepted only the moiety of what the provinces offered him; so that he was obliged to draw from his own income a part of the donative due, on this occasion, to the soldiers and people. He possessed taste, eloquence, and governed his own mind as he

[1] *Homo castus et integer* (Capit., *Anton.*, i.). His paternal grandfather had been prefect of the City. Arr. Antoninus was his maternal grandfather.

ruled his own house, like a master who desired that everything should be well ordered. He was a good listener, deliberated slowly, and when a decision was arrived at he kept to it firmly; good administration can only arise on this condition. He valued popularity at its just worth, acted only in view of duty, and felt no anxiety about the rest: he was truly wise.[1]

He had however one defect regrettable in a prince: he was over-careful about small things and fond of "splitting hairs."[2] It was maintained that he was miserly; but only slanderous tongues assert it, and these insinuations were perhaps the price paid for his great renown. At the *consilium* he always favoured mild resolutions, and during his reign he preserved this disposition for showing mercy:[3] a royal virtue when its intention is to pardon an offence against the prince, but dangerous if this goodness of heart weaken the authority of the law. Like all those whom we style the Antonines, he lived less like an emperor than as a wealthy private person, permitting liberty of speech to his friends, even acts of turbulence to the people. During a scarcity of corn the crowd threw stones at him; he replied by a speech. At the house of one of his intimates he admired certain columns and asked from whence they came: "When you enter another person's house, be deaf and dumb," replied the other rudely, and the emperor showed no anger.

Faustina, Wife of Marcus Aurelius. (Bust found at the Villa Hadriana. Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 39.)

On reaching Smyrna, during Hadrian's reign, as proconsul, he alighted at the house of Polemon the rhetorician, at that time

[1] See the portrait which Marcus Aurelius has traced of him in his *Meditations*, i. 16, and the phrase: Καὶ τὸ παῦσαι τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας τῶν μειρακίων, which very learned men construe differently; what is not doubtful is that it contains a eulogy of Antoninus.

[2] Κυμινοπρίστης (Dion, lxx. 3); or, as we should say, "skin a flint."

[3] *Ad indulgentias pronissimus fuit* (Capit., *Anton.*, 10). *Procuratoribus quos Hadrianus damnaverat in senatu indulgentias petit* (*ibid.*, 6).

absent; when night came the sophist returned and made such a noise at the trouble given him that Antoninus decamped at once. Some years after an actor came to make complaint that Polemon, the president of the Olympic games, had driven him from the theatre in broad day. "And me, too," said the prince, "he drove

Marcus Aurelius as a Boy. (Bust in the Capitol, Gallery, No. 70.)

out in deep night." Another time the courtiers were annoyed to see Marcus Aurelius crying for his deceased preceptor; he reproved them sharply: "Let him be a man," he said to them, "for neither philosophy nor empire ought to dry up the heart." More than once he was heard to repeat that he wished to act towards the senate as he had desired, when a senator, that they should act towards him; a thought which seems the precursor of the grand moral precept which Alexander Severus will later on inscribe on

the walls of his *lararium:* "Do not to others what you would not they should do unto you."[1]

We should have to narrate many munificent acts of his, many liberal gifts made to private individuals, to the people of Rome,[2] to provincial cities, which he helped or adorned; in fact, we see from the number of inscriptions that he followed the example of his predecessor.[3] All this shows an excellent natural disposition, and on this point there is no question; but was the prince on a level with the man? It is difficult to answer; for his political history is so obscure that it is half obliterated, and its features lost in the shade.

He was fifty-two years of age, when full maturity is reached without activity or strength being as yet decayed. Hadrian's activity had seemed sometimes restless and noisy; that of Antoninus was silent and discreet. His predecessor was always in movement; he, for nearly a quarter of a century did not leave Rome or its environs, except for a rapid tour in Asia. The war-loving Trajan had been succeeded by a lover of peace; the nomadic emperor was replaced by a sedentary prince. It is the law of contrasts which pleases peoples as it does artists. Some of the inconveniences of a *régime* mask, in the eyes of the crowd, its advantages, and we fall into another system for the sole reason that change is pleasing.

No. 1.

No. 2.

Gold Coins of Antoninus, bearing Liberality on the Reverse.[4]

Hadrian died in great unpopularity with the senate; we have

[1] [Jesus Christ had long before put the idea in clearer and more precise form.—*Ed.*]

[2] Nine times during his reign the 200,000 citizens who took shares in the public distributions received each 300 to 400 sesterces (Eckhel, vol. vii. pp. 11–27), and the gifts under this head reached 640,000,000 of sesterces (*Chronogr.*, ed. Momms. p. 647). In spite of these and other donations, in spite of the expenses of the State, which for the army alone reached each year perhaps to 250,000,000 of francs, Antoninus left a sum of 2,700,000,000 of sesterces, or from 500,000,000 to 600,000,000 of francs (Dion, lxxiii. 8); and this means that the financial system was excellent, since during the twenty-three years of his reign the imperial budget must have had a surplus from receipts of 25,000,000 of francs. As regards the army expenses, see vol. iv. p. 255, n. 1; only it is necessary to increase the figures for Antoninus's epoch, when there were thirty legions in place of twenty-five.

[3] Thus he finished the aqueduct begun by Hadrian in New Athens. (*C.I.L.*, vol. iii. No. 549.)

[4] No. 1: LIBERALITAS AVG. II. Antoninus seated on a stage; Liberality standing, scattering from her cornucopia some coins into a man's hands who stands at the foot of the stage. No. 2: LIBERALITAS VII. COS. IIII. Liberality standing, holding a tessera and a wand.

seen that the reproaches against him arose from the silent irritation of the *Patres* against a prince whose errant court removed far from them the *éclat* and reality of the government, so that the nothingness of their authority was no longer hidden even behind appearances. They wanted to refuse his apotheosis, that is to say, to declare him a tyrant and to annul his acts. Antoninus refused to be a party to this act of injustice, which besides would have disturbed his own rights. His entreaties would perhaps not have triumphed over the ill-will of these pitiful senators, unless, behind the compliant prince, they had perceived an orator persuasive in quite a different manner, the soldier, who did not intend that this outrage should be done to the memory of his beloved chief. According to Dion, all opposition dropped from fear of the army. Hadrian was accordingly placed in the rank of the gods; Antoninus erected a temple to his memory at Pozzuoli, appointed flamens to it, and instituted a quinquennial feast in his honour. The apotheosis and temple were for the defunct prince affairs of imperial etiquette. These honours done to the memory of Hadrian did not consequently require that the senators should decree the title of *Pius* to the new emperor; but as they had used up with other emperors all the epithets of praise they found only this one which remained at their service; and since the prince was not associated with their hatred against Hadrian, in giving this title they connected themselves with his filial respect. These highly-successful tergiversations, this clever strategy of the lobby, formed all the art which remained to the descendants of the great generals of Rome, now become the most daring of courtiers.

During this reign of twenty-three years the Empire enjoyed profound peace, and the grateful subjects regarded the State as a great family governed by the best of fathers.[1] A contemporary, Pausanias, wished that the emperor should be called "the Father of the human race."[2]

In his desire to avoid every sound, every movement which might upset the fair order introduced into the Empire by his predecessor, he resumed Tiberius's rule for the long duration of the

[1] *Quæ incredibili diligentia ad speciem optimi patrisfamilias exsequebatur* (Aur. Victor, *Epit.*, 15).

[2] Πατὴρ ἀνθρώπων (lib. viii. cap. 43).

magistracies, but extended it. He kept in their offices those who had been appointed by Hadrian; when he had to make a fresh selection he raised to office only experienced men, and often, says his biographer, he allowed them to die at their post.[1] Thus his friend, M. Gavius Maximus, during twenty years commanded the prætorian cohorts; Orfitus[2] held the prefecture of the City as long as he pleased, and was replaced only at his own request; some governors remained seven years, even nine years, in their governments. P. Pactumeius Clemens, legate of Cilicia under Hadrian, was raised to the consulate and yet kept his command.[3] The emperor had changed the official rank of the province rather than not leave in it the magistrate most acquainted with its wants. This was an excellent policy, provided however that it was not carried too far, for the most active man is sure to fall off when his duties continue always the same; just as life becomes extinct in the midst of stagnant waters, so administration which does not maintain a certain process of renovation soon reaches senility. Antoninus's reign will perhaps furnish us a proof of this.

Civil law owes much to him,[4] and the *Pandects* contain many fragments of his constitution or rescripts. One is celebrated under the name of *Antonine fourth*, or lien established in favour of the adopted upon the estate of the adopter. As proof of his liberality of mind, we may mention also the decision which permits the children of a new citizen, when they did not agree to choose their father's nationality, to preserve their rights of inheritance. Formerly, a Greek on obtaining the *jus civitatis*, but whose children continued provincials, was obliged to demise the succession to some citizens or leave it to the treasury, as property escheated.[5] Some publicani had exercised a right over wrecks. "I am the sovereign of the world," he replied to the shipwrecked crew who appealed against this act of cruelty; "but there is a law of the sea, which the Rhodians made; let us decide in accordance with that." And

[1] Capit., *Anton.*, 5 and 8.

[2] Serv. Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus had been raised to this office by Hadrian to replace L. Catilius Severus.

[3] See Borghesi, vol. viii. p. 393, note.

[4] *Multa de jure sanxit* (Capit., *Anton.*, 12). On the legislation of Antoninus, cf. Hænel, *Corpus Legum*, pp. 101–114, Lips., 1857.

[5] Pausanias, viii. 43.

the treasury was proved in the wrong.[1] By a rescript difficult in its application, but very just in spirit, he authorized the husband to bring a suit against the wife as an adulteress only in case he himself had preserved conjugal fidelity.[2] The condition of slaves was also ameliorated. Antoninus declared that the master who, for a frivolous pretext, had killed his slave should be punished with banishment or death; that he who had maltreated one unduly should be forced to sell him, and that he should not be able either to repurchase him or to insert a damaging clause in the contract, such as this: "Prohibited from freeing him;" or this: "He, or she, shall be delivered up to prostitution." One of his rescripts runs thus: "It is to the interest of masters that support against hunger, cruelty, and intolerable injustice be not withdrawn from slaves who justly implore it."[3]

In the financial administration he retrenched useless expenditure, pensions paid to those who "preyed upon the State" without rendering it any service; he sold some villas of the imperial domain, jewels, valuable furniture—dead capital, of which he made the public treasury the beneficiary; as Hadrian did, he also cancelled the arrears of taxes, and Marcus Aurelius and Aurelian will do as he did. His economy gave him the means of developing the alimentary institution and of aiding cities desolated by fire or earthquake, as Rome, Antioch, Narbo, and Rhodes. I make no mention of buildings erected by him or in his reign in Greece and Ionia, in Syria and at Carthage,[4] at Lambessa, several of whose monuments date from that epoch, at Tarragona for its harbour, at Gaëta for its lighthouse, at Nîmes for the Arena and Pont du Gard, at Baalbec for its Temple of the Sun.[5] All the emperors were great builders. It was a debt which at Rome they paid to the entire people, by decorating the City with new monuments: to the poor in giving them work; to their predecessor in raising to his honour the temple demanded by the apotheosis; in the

[1] *Digest*, xiv. 2, 9: *Hoc idem divus Augustus judicavit.*

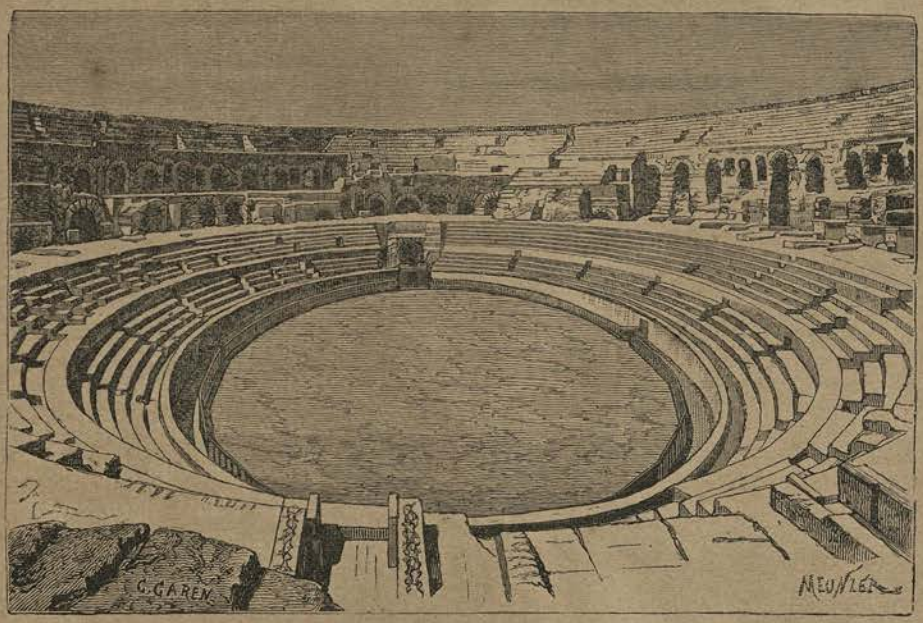
[2] [This is done in English law by what is called the "interference of the Queen's Proctor," who stops proceedings for divorce in such cases.—*Ed.*]

[3] *Instit.*, i. 8, § 2.

[4] Pausanias, viii. 43.

[5] An inscription of Antoninus's reign, between 147 and 161, shows that Gerasa had dedicated a propylon and a portico "to the health of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius." (Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. 218.)

provinces it was the condition of their popularity. Besides, each emperor, like the princes of the East, wished to have his dwelling untouched by any memorial of the past. For this reason Nero had abandoned the palace of the Cæsars, Vespasian destroyed the House of Gold, and Antoninus did not desire to occupy the Tiburtine Villa. The age of the Antonines was a fortunate one for the architects, for they were incessantly pulling down in order to build up. But it must be repeated that, outside Rome, constructions were especi-



Interior of the Arena at Nimes.

ally the work of the rich cities, where they were paid for from the municipal revenues, by the gifts of the citizens, and often by an imperial subvention. This observation is so much the more necessary in regard to this reign, because Marcus Aurelius said of his adoptive father that he was not fond of building.

As Hadrian had done, Antoninus founded new chairs of rhetoric and philosophy in many cities,[1] while granting to their holders a stipend which was paid them by the State when the local resources were insufficient.[2] To the pay he added honours: in the small

[1] *Rhetoribus et philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria detulit* (Capit., *Anton.*, 11).

[2] Zumpt, *Ueber den Bestand der philos. Schulen in Athen*, p. 45.

cities, five physicians, three sophists, and three grammarians, in the large, ten physicians, five sophists, and five grammarians were exempted from municipal offices;[1] and he honoured declamation even by giving, in the year 143, the consulate to two famous rhetoricians, the Greek Herodes Atticus and the Latin Cornelius Fronto. But poets did not seem to him so necessary; at least, he reduced the pension that Hadrian had bestowed on the lyric poet Mesomedes.

The Discobolus of Miron, found at the Villa Tiburtina. (Vatican, Salle du Bige, No. 618.)

Notwithstanding this there were senators found conspiring against this prince who made the public weal the sole object of his government. This time no one can doubt, as was the case under Hadrian, of the reality of the crime; the *Patres*, who, themselves or by their freedmen transformed into historians, were making the reputation of princes amongst posterity, allow for the favourite of the senate a peril the existence of which they had denied for the friend of the provincials. No executions took place: Atilius Titianus was quit of it by the loss of his property; Priscianus took his own life; Avidius Cassius, who rebelled under Marcus Aurelius, had at

[1] *Digest*, xxvii. 1, 6, §§ 1 and 2.

least the desire to overturn Antoninus; Celsus, lastly, whom we do not know, made a serious attempt, since twenty or thirty years after the younger Faustina recalled the circumstance to her husband.[1] The senate showed great zeal in seeking out the guilty persons; Antoninus stopped them. "What shall I gain," he replied to those who pressed him to show severity, "what shall I gain beyond knowing that a certain number of my fellow-citizens hate me?"

Mauretania. (Large bronze of Antoninus, Cohen, 686.)

Antoninus did not like war. "It is much better," said he, "to save a citizen than to slay a thousand enemies." Of himself he undertook no expedition,[2] but his lieutenants had to wage wars of defence: in Africa against the nomadic tribes, on the frontiers of the Carpathians and of the Danube against the Dacians, who had taken refuge in the mountains, and against the German tribes established in the neighbourhood of Pannonia. Capitolinus tells us that the Jews again made a disturbance, and that there were some rebellions in Egypt and Greece. A disturbance in Greece so soon after Hadrian is inexplicable, unless it be a question of conspiracy like that of Celsus, for example,[3] of which we know neither place nor date, or of some popular tumult to which Lucian seems to make allusion (157);[4] and a revolt of the Jews would have been, it seems, very difficult after all the blood which Trajan and Hadrian had shed of this people.[5] In Egypt the affair was more serious, since the prefect Dinarchus was killed (147–8), and that, so an ancient writer says, the emperor considered himself obliged to make his journey to the East.[6]

[1] Vulcacius Gallicanus, *Avid. Cass.*, 10.

[2] . . . . Πόλεμον μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐθελοντὴς ἐπηγάγετο οὐδένα (Pausanias, viii. 43).

[3] Capit., *Avid. Cass.*, 10.

[4] *Peregr.*, 19: ἀρτι δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔπαθεν ἀντάρασθαι ὅπλα Ῥωμαίοις.

[5] The coins of Alexander cited as proofs by Munter (*Die Juden unter Hadrian*, p. 98) do not lead to a positive conclusion, and the war of the Parthians, by the aid of which Gratz (*Jüdische Gesch.*, iv. No. 20) tries to get out of the charge, took place only three years before Antoninus's death.

[6] Letronne (*Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 250) places this revolt in the years 148 and 149. Cf. Malala, *Chronogr.*, xi. p. 280, ed. Niebuhr and Aristides, i. 350, ed. Dind. The mention of Antoninus's voyage to the East, of which Capitolinus says nothing, is found in Malala, an author of little authority, it is true, and one who has heaped together many

In Britain, Lollius Urbicus, who had distinguished himself in Judæa under Hadrian, repressed the Brigantes (140), and being at the narrow part of the island behind the *Vallum Hadriani*, carried back the line of defence of the province further north, as far as Agricola's rampart, *Graham's dike*, made of turf, running between the Firths of Clyde and Forth.[1] As a reward for his services Lollius obtained later on the highest office of the State, that of prefect of the City. The Parthians prepared an expedition against Armenia; a letter from Antoninus stopped them. The Lazi, the Quadi, the Armenians, accepted the kings whom he gave them;[2] his protection sheltered the Greeks on the coasts of the Euxine against the Scythians of the neighbourhood and Armenia against the brigandage of the Alani. Appian relates that he saw at Rome the deputies of barbarous tribes who begged to be received as subjects of the Empire; Antoninus refused: this was the policy of Augustus and Hadrian. There came also embassies from Bactria and India: a proof that commercial relations continued with these distant regions.

Antoninus giving his Hand to the King of the Quadi. (Large Bronze, Cohen, 759.)

Antoninus placing the Tiara on the Head of the King of Armenia. (Large Bronze, Cohen, 758.)

To sum up, the wars under Antoninus were of no importance and the outbreaks without peril. "At that time," says his biographer, "all the provinces were flourishing . . . . and no prince was so much respected by the barbarians." A contemporary, the rhetorician Aristides, shows what confidence this long peace inspired: "The entire continent is in a state of repose, and one no longer believes in war, even when it is raging at some far off point."[3]

stories, but who perhaps found this fact in the *Chronicle of Antioch*. Cf. Waddington, *Chronol. du rhéteur Aristide*.

[1] See above, vol. iv. p. 709.

[2] See in Eckhel, vol. vii. pp. 3 and 15; in Cohen, *Anton.*, Nos. 758 and 759, the medals with the inscription: *Rex Quadis datus Armeniis*, which are placed between 139 and 145. The latter of these two authors says (*Anton.*, p. 279) that the decadence of art begins to be apparent under Antoninus in the medals, especially the silver ones.

[3] Aristides, i. 3, ed. Dind.

More respectful than Hadrian towards the old usages and ancient legends, he considered an element of social stability was to be found in matters which his predecessor saw only with sceptical curiosity. He tried like Augustus to re-animate expiring patriotism by bringing again into fashion the marvellous beginnings of the Roman people; some of his coins represent the flight of Æneas, the foundation of Alba, Mars and Rhea, Romulus and the first *spolia opima*, Horatius Cocles defending the Janiculum bridge, or Æsculapius arriving in the isle of the Tiber under the form of a serpent (Glycon). To set up firmly the gods on their tottering altars, he scrupulously performed his pontifical functions, drew to the temples the crowd eager for spectacles, and earned this inscription: "The senate and Roman people to the very good, very great, and very just prince Antoninus Augustus, *ob insignem erga cærimonias publicas curam ac religionem.*"[2] At the same time he tried to stop the progress of Jewish conversions by renewing the penalties declared by an edict of Vespasian against those who practised circumcision on those not of the Hebrew race.[3]

The Serpent Glycon.[1] (Reverse of a Coin of Antoninus.)

Seeing in him this disposition, one might fear that he would treat the Christians cruelly. Nothing of the sort. He followed, as regards them, the policy of his adoptive father, and granted them a virtual toleration, which was, however, disturbed a few times by too zealous magistrates condemning a victim impatient to die. With regard to the rescript that Eusebius ascribes to him, we cannot regard it, at least in its actual form, as authentic. It is certain that this prince and his predecessor never dreamt of giving full citizenship in the Empire to the new religion; but they would not have wished any the more to persecute it. The latter from philosophic indifference, the former

[1] Bronze coin of Ionopolis (Mionnet, *Descr. de Méd. ant.*, vol. iv. p. 550, No. 5). The human headed serpent is the personification of Glycon, the new manifestation of Æsculapius, whose worship received in the time of the Antonines great extension.

[2] Orelli, No. 844. This inscription is of the year 143.

[3] *Digest*, xlviii. 8, 11: *Circumcidere Judæis filios suos tantum rescripto divi Pii permittitur; is non ejusdem religionis qui hoc fecerit, castrantis pœna irrogatur*; now, this penalty was death. *Medico qui exciderit, capitale erit, item ipsi qui se sponte excidendum præbuit.* See above, vol. iv. p. 726.

from goodness of heart, felt repugnance at shedding blood for beliefs. "During Antoninus's reign," says Orosius, "peace reigned in the Church." [1]

At this period the faith found a clever and bold defender. Justin represents in the history of the Empire that decisive moment when Christianity, which with S. Paul had confessed the impotence of reason,[2] and which with the early successors of the Apostles lived in shade and mystery, comes forth into the day and proudly claims its rights as rational doctrine. Then what was contemptuously styled "the religion of slaves and women, of children and old men," makes its claim, not only before the executioner, but before the man of science, and attempts to absorb into itself pagan wisdom purified by the new revelation.

Justin was a Greek of Palestine who had explored all the philosophic systems before reaching Christianity, and who has himself related, in a dialogue after the manner of Plato, not without elegance, the different stages of his mental progress. He does not commit to the flames, as so many others did, what he had reverenced. Christianity is in his eyes a new philosophy, more certain, more useful than the ancient; but he does not abjure that which had preceded it. "Socrates," said he, "had been the incarnation of the Λόγος, or divine reason infused into humanity, λόγος σπερματικός, for every intelligence contains a portion of it. Christ was another more complete, because He is absolutely Truth. When Plato's master tried, with the force of truth, to rescue men from the demons, these latter had him put to death as impious and atheistic. They act similarly against us. Atheists we are against your gods, but not in respect of the true God, the Father of every virtue that we adore, with the Son whom He has sent to teach us, with the army of the good angels, His satellites, and the prophetic Spirit. You ancients have taught certain dogmas which we expound in a more divine manner and of which we alone prove the truth. We say, like Plato, that God has created and ordered everything; like the Stoics, that the world will perish by fire; like your poets and philosophers, that the good will be recompensed

[1] Orosius, *Hist. sac.*, ii. 46: *Antonino Pio imperante, pax ecclesiis fuit.* Cf. Euseb., *Hist. eccles.*, iv. 13, 26; Tertullian, *Apol.*, 5; Dion, lxx. 3.

[2] Cf. *Epist. Rom.*, i. 21–24; 1 *Cor.*, i. 19; iii. 18; *Gal.*, i. 8.

and the wicked punished. When we call Jesus Christ the divine Λόγος, the Reason of God, we apply to Him the name given to Mercury. . . . . If it is said that He was crucified, in that even he resembles those of Jupiter's sons who, according to you, have had torments to suffer; that He was born of a Virgin, he has that in common with Perseus; that He healed the lame, the paralytic, the infirm, and raised the dead, is what you relate of Æsculapius. . . . . All who have lived conformably to reason are Christians. Such were, among the Greeks, Socrates, Heraclitus, and those who resemble them, as of our own time Musonius,[1] and among the barbarians Abraham, Ananias, Mishael, Elijah, and many others."

Æsculapius and Glycon.

Christianity was, therefore, the completion and not the contradiction of natural revelation.

Justin defends himself, but he also attacks. He opposes the god of the Christians to the incestuous and adulterous gods of paganism, and to the scandalous lessons of their history God's holy commandments. Before the face of the old state of society, legalizing its vices by the income which it derives from them and raising altars to Antinous, he place the new state, which, instead of impure festivals and bloody sacrifices, has for its creed prayer, almsgiving, the kiss of peace, the brotherly communion of bread and wine; then he exclaims: "Cease, then, from imputing to saintly men your debauches and those of your gods!"

As preaching to the poor and oppressed, the Gospel would have been preferable; as pleading before a pagan tribunal, the

[1] It is in the *Apology*, ii. § 8. where the name of Musonius is found; the others are found in the first, § 21.

defence was clever, not wanting in truth and grandeur. We find even in the opening words of this apology the masculine boldness of a man who accepted the combat with the masters of the world:—

TO THE EMPEROR TITUS ÆLIUS ANTONINUS, PIUS,
AUGUSTUS, CÆSAR,
TO HIS SON VERISSIMUS, PHILOSOPHER,
TO LUCIUS, PHILOSOPHER,
SON OF CÆSAR BY BIRTH AND OF ANTONINUS BY ADOPTION,
A PRINCE, A LOVER OF LITERATURE;
TO THE SACRED SENATE AND TO THE ENTIRE ROMAN PEOPLE,
IN THE NAME OF THOSE WHO, AMONG ALL MEN,
ARE UNJUSTLY HATED AND PERSECUTED;
I, ONE OF THEM,
JUSTIN . . . . I HAVE WRITTEN THIS DISCOURSE.[1]

This mode of address, this expression borrowed from the Stoics, but which he found in his own manly soul: "You can kill us; you cannot harm us," proceeded from a believer ready to give his life for the faith, and who will give it.

Since Trajan's time Christianity had acquired sufficient importance to secure that Justin's first *Apology* should reach the hands of the emperor, without however determining him to break the laws of the Empire, of which he was guardian, by the publication of an edict of toleration. The Christians therefore continued exposed to the violence of the populace in cities where they showed too much zeal against idols, too much ardour for martyrdom, and under this gracious prince some Christians perished. A letter from the faithful of Smyrna to the churches of Asia, which Eusebius has preserved, is a living picture of these abominable yet sublime scenes. A Phrygian, named Quintus, belonging to the country where Cybele exacted sanguinary worship, persuaded some Smyrniots and Philadelphians to provoke their own death in order the sooner to enjoy eternal bliss. They were twelve in number, and showed heroic courage in the midst of the atrocious tortures which

[1] The composition of the first *Apology* is about 150, that of the second at the end of 160 or the beginning of 161.

Antoninus crowned with Oak. (Statue found at the *Villa Hadriana*.—Vatican, Salle Ronde, No. 550.)

the executioners taxed their ingenuity to vary. One of them, Germanicus, was conspicuous among them all by his contempt for the tortures. The proconsul felt repugnance at striking men who appeared to him only guilty of religious obstinacy; he would have wished to save them: "Have pity on your youth," said he to Germanicus; but the latter, eager for death, irritated the beasts in order to be more quickly torn in pieces. Just as the combat was beginning the Phrygian trembled and abjured his faith. As the people were thus defrauded of one victim, cries arose to replace Quintus by Polycarp. He was an old man of eighty, and the most illustrious of the bishops of Asia. The imperial governor, who was well acquainted with him, had never disturbed him, and the latter, without denying his faith, had been allowed to reach that great age. He did not believe that martyrdom should be sought; at the time when the popular fury had burst forth, aroused by the rash deed of Quintus, he had left the city and had retired into a remote house. They went there to take him; he could have made his escape, but did not. The proconsul tried for a long time to extort a word which would permit him to spare him: "Swear," said he to him, "by the fortune of Cæsar; say, 'Remove the impious from the world,' and I will dismiss you as discharged." He replied, "I am a Christian; if you wish to become acquainted with my religion, give me a day; I will make you acquainted with it." The proconsul having answered that it was the people whom he must convince, Polycarp replied: "I do not refuse to instruct you, because I have learnt to render to men in high position the honour which is their due, but this vulgar crowd does not deserve my making a defence before them."

As the people kept demanding that this enemy of the gods, one who wished to abolish their religion and their sacrifices, should be thrown to the lions, the governor objected that he was not empowered to do so because the games were ended. "To the stake then!" howled the crowd, and ran to find wood at the baths and shops, then they arranged the pile while the old man quietly undressed to mount it. When it was ignited, the wind carried the flame behind him, which formed a sort of arcade above the martyr's head, "just as it fills the sail of a ship; and he seemed to us to look like gold or silver tried in the furnace. At the same time we

perceived a sweet odour of precious perfume." The executioner finished him by a stroke of his sword.[1]

The procedure established by Trajan: "If they are accused

Antoninus. (Bust in the Museum of Naples.)

and convicted let them be punished," had been followed. The governor had not referred the matter to Rome, nor had he need so to do. The people had cried: "The Christians to the lions!"

[1] The date of S. Polycarp's martyrdom has given rise to much discussion. M. Waddington (*Vie d'Aristide*, p. 235) places it on 23rd February, 155. M. J. Réville (*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vol. iii. p. 369) brings it down to 166. As regards the matter of date, doubt still exists; but it is of no consequence to general history whether Polycarp died under Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius. Doubtless the emperors were never aware of it, and the judgment we pass on them cannot be modified by it.

and the Christians voluntarily offering to satisfy the joy of the crowd, their blood had stained the arena.

On the statement of Justin, such scenes took place in several parts of the Empire. His *Apology* would lead us to believe in more martyrdoms than there were, for exaggeration is one of the characteristics of this description of writings.[1] But it is certain that the hatred against "these blasphemers of the gods" increased amongst the people with their increase in number; that the faith, more confident, became rash, and that the imperial officers must have been driven far beyond what intelligent and sceptical administrators would have desired, seeing they were but slightly pre-occupied about Jupiter, but much about preserving the public peace.

Did the emperor know anything of these distant matters? It is very doubtful; it is not even certain that he knew in the last years of his reign of the execution of the Greek Ptolemæus and of two other Christians which was ordered by the prefect of Rome. They were insignificant persons who had never been sought after, and who, moreover, had delivered themselves up. Their fate interested no one, and in a world so cruel, so prodigal of human life, a capital punishment was by no means so rare as to cause any stir in the city.

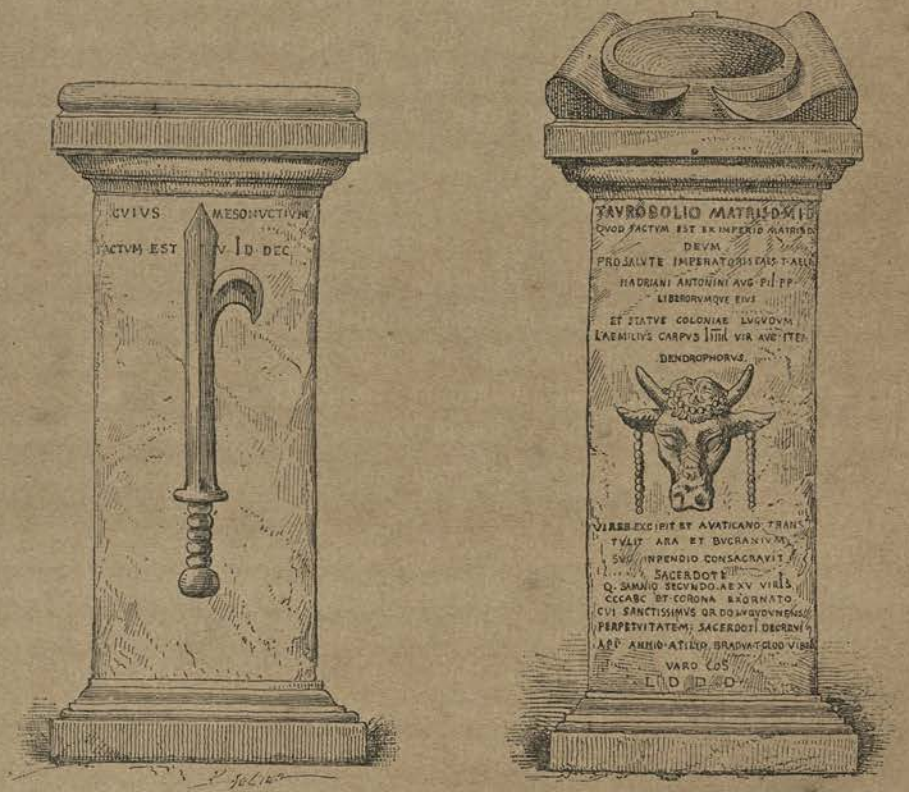
The Christians responded to the blows which struck them by secret and irritating menaces. The Sibyl assigned only three successors to Antoninus, and announced the destruction of Rome, of Italy, and of the Empire, as about to take place in 195: "Oh! how wilt thou weep then, when despoiled of thy brilliant laticlave and clothed in mourning garments, oh! thou haughty Rome, daughter of old Latinus! Thou shalt fall never again to rise. The glory of thy legions with the proud eagles will disappear. Where will be thy might? What people will be thy ally out of those whom thou hast enslaved to thy follies?"[2] To see so much hate displayed upon both sides makes it clear that between the ancient and the new society an abyss had been formed into which victims must fall.

If we imperfectly know what Antoninus did when emperor, we know well what the enemies of the Empire did after him; hence a question arises: Ought Antoninus to be held responsible for a part

[1] *Apol.*, i. 39; ii. 12; *Dial.*, 39, 110, 131.

[2] *Carm. Sib.*, viii. 70 *et seq.* Cf. Renan, *l'Église chrétienne*, p. 533.

of Marcus Aurelius's misfortunes? Antoninus's adoptive father had prepared for him, by the strict discipline introduced into everything, a peaceable reign; did he not bequeath to his successor many dangers by the mildness of an administration which, from dislike of punishing, closed its eyes and allowed everything to become slack? On finding after his death that the legions were without discipline, the frontiers insecure, the Parthians again audacious, the bar-



Taurobolic Altar, found at Lyons, on the Fourvières Hill, in 1704; front and side views. (See p. 168.)

barians at one and the same time crossing the Rhine, the Danube, the Alps, and reaching as far as Aquileia on the route to Rome, and as far as Elatea in the heart of Greece, we have the right to think that Antoninus had been too fond of repose, too much disposed, in order to gratify the senate, to pursue a course of conduct different from that which his predecessor had pursued. Never had the barbarians seen him slowly going along the frontiers to make sure that, on the side of Rome, they were well guarded, and that

on the other there were not being formed among them any menacing combinations which ought to be combated by policy or arms. Never did he appear in the midst of the legions to examine with attentive eye their wants and their discipline, to join in their exercises, and by his presence to maintain their military virtue. Inactive behind their ramparts and their camps they no longer knew how to handle their arms nor support fatigues, and the cruel severity of Avidius Cassius was required to extricate the troops from their want of vigour, to break off their use "of the baths and the dangerous voluptuousness of Daphne, to make the flowers drop from their heads with which they adorned themselves at the festivals."[1]

Faustina, Antoninus's Wife. (Bust in the Vatican, found at the Villa Hadriana.)

Antoninus reached an advanced age: he had attained his seventy-fourth year, and, without being attacked by any disorder, his physical

Hexastyle Temple, the Reverse of a Denarius of Faustina the Elder.

Bronze Medallion of Faustina the Elder.

Puellæ Faustinianæ. Reverse of a Gold Coin of Faustina, senior. (Cohen, No. 107.)

strength was decreasing. Therefore prayers for his health were offered in the temples. At Lyons a monument exists which recalls

[1] See Fronto (*Epist.*, II. i. p. 128, and *Principia hist.*, p. 206): . . . . *seditiosi, contumaces, apud signa infrequentes . . . . præsidiis vagi . . . . ac palantes, de meridie . . . . temulenti; ne armatu quidem sustinendo adsueti, sed impatientia laboris armis singillatim omittendis in velitum atque funditorum modum seminudi . . . . ut ad primum Parthorum conspectum terga verterent . . . .*

the fact that three months before the prince's death the great expiating sacrifice of those days (*the taurobolium*) had been there offered.[1] In March, 161, he was carried off by a fever in three days. When expiring he gave to the tribune of the guards for a password: "Patience and resignation, *Æquanimitas*." This was leaving

Apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina. (Bas-relief from the Pedestal of the Antonine Column.—Vatican.)

the world like a philosopher; but may it not be said that Antoninus had always lived as he died?

He has been set down as a complaisant husband and the same thing has been said of his successor: the two Faustinas have a bad reputation.[2] These charges are easy to propagate but difficult to refute; and it seems as if malignity, not being

[1] "For the welfare of the emperor and of his sons, and for the prosperity of the colony of Lugdunum." (De Boissieu, *Inscr. ant. de Lyon*, p. 24.)

[2] *De hujus uxore multa dicta sunt ob nimiam libertatem et vivendi facilitatem quæ ille cum animi dolore compressit* (Capit., *Anton.*, 3). I do not see that these words indicate the adultery of Faustina: this silent grief of mind might have had for its cause only a certain tone of behaviour and not definite acts.

able to expend itself on the Antonines, determined to be indemnified by giving rein to itself respecting the two empresses. I shall not undertake to warrant for their virtue; but the accusations with which they have been charged during seventeen centuries are vague or absurd, and it does not seem to me to have proceeded

Remains of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, before the Recent Demolition of San Lorenzo.

from philosophic resignation that their husbands supported what is termed the shame of the imperial family. There was not only affection in these words of Antoninus to Fronto respecting the first Faustina: "In the discourse which thou hast devoted to my Faustina, I have found much more truth than eloquence. For it is the fact; yes, by the gods! I would rather live with her at

Gyaros than without her in the palace."[1] Beneath love I perceive esteem. When, a short time after his accession (141) he lost the mother of his four children, he refused to marry again,[2] and he built a temple at Rome in her honour. That was the fashion.

But when he himself was dead and accounted a god, the senate, for the purpose of preserving the remembrance of this mutual affection, connected the married couple when dedicating the temple: *To the god Antoninus and to the goddess Faustina.* There still exist the magnificent ruins at San Lorenzo in Miranda, a church constructed in the temple which was the object of the admiration of the Romans.[3]

He did better than giving Faustina priestesses and statues of gold: he perpetuated her name by a charitable foundation for the benefit of "the Faustinian Girls." A medal bearing the empress's image shows on the reverse Antoninus surrounded by young children, with these words in the exergue: *Puellæ Faustinianæ;* and to his last hour he supported and extended the institution of the *pueri alimentarii*, which saved poor families from despair by preventing them from having recourse to the ancient and abominable custom of abandoning the new born.[4]

When Antoninus perceived his end drawing near he ordered the golden statue of Victory, which never left the emperor's pillow, to be carried into the room of his son-in-law and adopted son, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, entitled the Philosopher.

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad Ant. Pium*, p. 163, Naber. Gyaros was a desert island and place of banishment.

[2] Yet it must be told that, following the Roman usage, he took a concubine (Capit., *Anton.*, 8; Marc. Aurel., *Meditations*, i. 17, and Orelli, No. 5,466). Julian, in the *Cæsars*, 9, says of him: "A moderate man, except with regard to Venus."

[3] There remains of it the cella, ten columns in *cipollino* marble, 16 mètres high, with an entablature and frieze in Parian marble on which was cut in relief the inscription *Divæ Faustinæ*. The other words, *Divo Antonino*, were cut on the architrave after Antoninus's death. (Orelli, No. 868.) These fine ruins have been lately cleared. The *Itinerarium* called Antoninus's belongs neither to this prince nor his time. This work was doubtless the anonymous later compilation of the Roman administration, a sort of official postal guide.

[4] We have the proof of this from inscriptions of 149 (Cupra Montana), of 150 (Urbino), and from medals of the years 151, 160, and 161.

II.—Marcus Aurelius.

We must not let this title of philosopher deceive us. We are going to pass from a reign of silence to a history of storm. In the interior of the palace Marcus will have no need, as has been asserted, of the patience of Socrates or the imbecile blindness of Claudius; but this friend of the gods and of humanity will see let loose upon the world every sort of scourge: inundations, pestilence, famine; this lover of peace will live in the midst of continual wars, which will cost the provinces innumerable captives carried off by the barbarians; in fine, this compliant prince will have to carry out implacable severities, this just man will shed innocent blood. The contrast between the sentiments of the philosopher and the life of the prince give to Marcus Aurelius's public life a singularly tragic interest.

Faustina the Younger, Antoninus's Daughter and Marcus Aurelius's Wife.[2]

His family was originally from the municipium of Succubo[1] in Spain; he himself was born at Rome 26th April, 121. His grandfather, made patrician by Vespasian, had been twice consul and prefect of the City. He had no youth. From the age of twelve he assumed the philosopher's cloak and practised the severest stoical austerity, working without intermission, eating little, and sleeping on the hard ground; his mother, Domitia Lucilla,[3] had to use many entreaties to get him to use a bed on which some sheep skins were stretched. After his adoption by Antoninus, when eighteen, he continued to attend his masters; when emperor he heaped upon them honours

[1] *La Ronda*, or *Sucubi*, in the province of Granada, near Cordova. His name was *Marcus Annius Verus*; after his adoption he was called *Ælius Aurelius Verus Cæsar*, after his accession *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus*.

[2] Bronze statuette of Roman production, found in the Swedish island of Oeland (a communication of M. Léouzon Le Duc). A coin of Sabina, Hadrian's wife, has been found in Finland. Cf. *Bull. de l'Assoc. scientif.*, 12th January, 1879.

[3] Lucilla was descended from Domitius Afer. Cf. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii. 35.

and rewards; many of them were consuls;[1] to others he raised statues. Their portraits were placed in the midst of his Lares, and on the anniversary of their death he used to go and sacrifice on their tombs, which he always kept decorated with flowers.

Domitia Lucilla, Marcus Aurelius's Mother. (Bronze Coin struck at Nicæa.)

One of them, the philosopher Rusticus, had rendered him the service of combating the detestable taste which Fronto had engrafted at first on his pupil, those affectations, those conceits which are found in Marcus Aurelius's letters to his first master. "I have read a good deal this morning," he wrote to him one day, "and I have noted ten figures or subjects of comparison;" at another time: "I send you an idea which I have developed this morning and a common-place of the day before yesterday . . . .; to-day it will be hard for me to make anything else than the thought of last evening. Send me three thoughts and ten commonplaces."[2] What an education for a prince! Later on he said: "Rusticus has turned me aside from the false paths into which the sophists enter and from the affected elegancies of rhetoric; to him I owe the practice of never lightly giving my assent to skilful speechmakers; and he it is who has put into my hands the commentaries of Epictetus."[3]

Marcus Aurelius (Large Bronze).

Being of a weakly constitution, he regulated his life minutely in order not to exhaust its powers more rapidly than nature demanded, and he followed the directions of his physicians, amongst whom was Galen, as an obligation imposed upon him of preserving for his soul's use the temporary covering in which the gods had inclosed it. Chaste and sober, he never knew what men called pleasure; or rather, he found it in devotion to duty,[4] in that unceasing study

[1] Thus the philosopher Junius Rusticus was twice consul and prefect of Rome; Fronto had already held the fasces.

[2] *Epist. ad Marc.*, ii. 9, and v. 59.

[3] *Med.*, i. 7.

[4] He wrote to Fronto: *Verecundia officii res est imperiosa* (*Epist. ad M. Ant. de fer. Als.*). This is in other words the constant thought in the Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν.

which he imposed on himself in order to reach a high degree of perfection. Marcus Aurelius is the moral hero of pagan antiquity.

He had an adopted brother, Lucius Aurelius Verus, son of that Ælius Verus for whom the succession to Hadrian had at first been reserved. Instead of keeping him in the obscurity in which hitherto this young man had remained, he made him his colleague and son-in-law, so that the State had for the first time two masters, "although the senate had transferred the Empire to one only." Nevertheless, Verus took the part of a lieutenant, not of an equal. He found his advantage in doing so, having more taste for pleasure than for power. It is said that it was through him that Rome again saw some scenes like Nero's debauchery: drinking bouts in low taverns; fights at night in the streets; extravagance in the shows, play, and feasting; as much as 6,000,000 of sesterces spent in one day; happily no cruelty. Besides, Marcus Aurelius's gravity of life made amends for everything and secured the honour of the imperial house, which ran fewer dangers than is pretended. Fronto and Dion Cassius give, in fact, quite a different idea of Lucius;[1] and

Lucilla, Daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Wife of Lucius Verus, in the character of Ceres. (Capitol, Salon, No. 19.)

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad Verum*, lib. i. and ii.; Dion, lxxi. 1: *ἐρρωτό τε καὶ νεώτερος ἦν, τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς τε ἔργοις καταλληλότερος.* Eutropius (viii. 5), Sextus Rufus (20), raise no reproach

in one of his letters this prince felicitates himself on having learnt from his master freedom and the love of truth much more than the knowledge of fine language.

The two emperors had made as a grant to the armies, by way of gift for a happy accession, the enormous sum of 20,000 sesterces to each soldier.[1] This ransom of the Empire was a necessity from which the best prince was unable to clear himself, and for the moment, an act of prudence, for Antoninus had left war to his successor on all the frontiers. His last moments had been troubled by threatening visions: "In the delirium of fever," says his biographer, "he talked only of the Republic and of the kings who wanted to assail it." In fact, scarcely had the commotion of the *fêtes* celebrated in honour of the two princes' accession passed away than they learnt of the invasion of Spain by the Moors, already disturbed by an insurrection of the Lusitanians. In Gaul, seditions agitated the Sequani; in Britain, the Picts over-ran the country, and most serious of all, the legions wished to induce their commander, Statius Priscus, to take the purple. Then again from the East alarming news arrived. Vologeses had for a long time been making warlike preparations there; in 162 he threw his Parthians into Armenia, where they utterly destroyed a Roman army, and into Syria, whose legions were overcome; this province was compromised, Cappadocia threatened, Asia Minor laid open defenceless with all its wealth to the swift cavalry of the great king.[3]

Vologeses III. (Face and Reverse).[2]

In face of these perils Marcus Aurelius showed resolution and activity. Statius Priscus, recalled from Britain, in order that

against him, and if his letters to Fronto (*ad Verum imp.*, lib. ii. epist. ii. p. 129. edit. of Naber) on the Parthian war show little modesty, they also prove that he did not pass all the campaign in pleasures.

[1] Probably 20,000 sesterces, or 5,000 francs, to each prætorian; but much less for the legionaries.

[2] Obverse: head of Vologeses III.; behind, B. On the reverse: ΒΑΣΙΓΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΟΛΑΓΑΣΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Tetradrachma of the king of kings, Arsaces Vologeses, the just, the illustrious, the friend of the Greeks. Vologeses seated, to whom the city presents a sceptre. Silver coin; the Parthians did not make gold coin.

[3] We cannot give the dates of all these movements.

his disinterestedness should not continue exposed to such dangerous temptations, was replaced by a commander whose name was of good augury for a command in that country, Calpurnius Agricola.[1] Priscus was sent into Cappadocia, whilst a skilful general formed from the *élite* of the legions of the Danube and Rhine war battalions (*vexillationes*), which he made haste to march thither.[2] Another went to drive back the Catti, and the governor of Belgica, Didius Julianus, who became such a sad emperor, drove away the Chauci from his province. At Rome the fugitive king of the Armenians had been received with honour; he had been presented with the senatorial laticlave and the consulate: this was a promise of help. Strong forces were, in fact, sent to the East; Marcus Aurelius even desired that his colleague should go there.

Instead of placing himself at the head of the expedition with that juvenile ardour and the inexperience which would have embarrassed the veteran generals, Verus, by his brother's orders, stayed at Antioch to collect the reserves and munitions of war,[3] to watch and keep the neighbouring provinces in check, whilst his lieutenants pushed on in front. The principal of them, Avidius Cassius, was a Syrian, a hard, ambitious man who was said to be a descendant of Cæsar's assassin;[4] he was not at all displeased to hear himself called Catilina, and he would have wished to be looked upon as at least a new Marius. He was pitiless in all that concerned discipline. While *en route*, no baggage; he severely punished those who had brought anything else than some bacon, biscuit, and vinegar. For some act of violence towards the inhabitants of the province, the guilty were fixed up over a large fire and perished both from suffocation and the flames. In the case of deserters, he had them hamstrung or their thighs cut. One day some auxiliaries surprised a body of barbarians and destroyed them. They had attacked without orders; Cassius ordered the centurions to be crucified. "Who assured you," he

[1] The new general, nevertheless, seems to have fallen back from Antoninus's rampart to the *Vallum Hadriani*, where an inscription has been found bearing his name (Orelli, No. 5,861). Later on Marcus Aurelius sent 5,500 Iazyges cavalry into this province. (Dion, lxxi. 14 and 16.)

[2] Cf. L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 123.

[3] Dion, lxxi. 2: Τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χορηγίας ἀθροίζων.

[4] He was originally from Cyrrhus, and his father, the rhetorician Heliodorus, had been, under Hadrian and Antoninus, prefect of Egypt. Cf. Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. 129.

said to them, "that it was not a snare and that the honour of the Roman army would not be compromised?" Thereupon a sedition broke out, and the whole army menacingly surrounded the pretorium of the general. He stepped forth unarmed: "Strike me," said he, "and add this crime also to the upsetting of discipline." All returned again to a state of order. The writer from whom we derive these details ends his narrative with these words: "He deserved to be feared, because he had no fear himself."

Such was the man whom Marcus Aurelius had given to his brother as lieutenant and to be at the head of the troops. "I have intrusted to him," he wrote to a prefect, "these legions of Syria who live in the delights of Daphne. You know him; he has all the severity of those whose name he bears, and he will re-establish that ancient discipline without which an army cannot exist."

The day after his arrival Cassius proclaimed by sound of trumpet that the soldier seen at Daphne should be ignominously discharged, and he drove out of the camp everything savouring of luxury or effeminacy. Continual drills, frequent reviews, not for mere parade but of severe inspection, a threat to keep the army the whole winter under tents, had in a short time restored to these effeminate troops the look of veteran legions, and Cassius, now their master, took the offensive. We do not know the incidents of his campaigns, which lasted four years. Mention is made of numerous successes gained by the Romans, of the capture, by the skilful Priscus, of Artaxata, the principal fortress of Armenia, whose king re-entered into his states as a vassal of Rome, and of a great victory near Zeugma on the Euphrates, which opened up to the legions a way to the very heart of the Parthian empire.[1] It was Trajan's expedition repeated: the same triumphs, the same conquests—that in the north of Mesopotamia with Edessa and Nisibis, the invasion of Assyria and Media, the taking of Ctesiphon and burning of the king's palace, the destruction of Seleucia after an immense slaughter of its inhabitants; but also the same march back saddened by hunger, thirst, and the death of a large number of soldiers. Had Cassius adopted better measures

[1] Lucian (*de hist. conscrib.*, 19–21 and 28–9) speaks of several battles,

Lucius Verus, junior. (Vatican.)

than Trajan, or had the war of extermination made upon the Jews by Hadrian suppressed one of the most effective causes of revolt in those regions? We know not, but Vologeses demanded peace (165), which he had disdainfully refused before the commencement of hostilities; and he gave up the northern part of Mesopotamia, which the Romans still kept at the end of Commodus's reign. By this acquisition, the only one needful to be made to the east of the Euphrates, their influence in Armenia, where now their vassal was reigning, was consolidated. We have already pointed out how from thence they held in check, by means of their allies, the Armenians, the tribes of the Caucasus, and by themselves the empire of the Parthians. The two emperors celebrated a triumph at which they took the titles of Parthicus, Armeniacus, and Medicus.

Lucius Verus Armeniacus.

These successes resounded far into Asia, and Roman trade profited from them for extending its connections. The Chinese annals make mention about this time of an embassy sent by an Emperor Antoninus to the Son of Heaven. These ambassadors, unknown to our Roman writers, were, according to all appearance, some merchants who, in the interests of commerce, had assumed a political character. In exchange for elephants' teeth, rhinoceros' horns, and tortoise-shell offered to Houang-Ti they received a great quantity of the silk which used to be sold in the Empire for its weight in gold.[2]

Triumph of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. (Bronze Medal, Cohen, No. 388.)

During the Parthian war Marcus Aurelius had remained at the centre of the Empire, in order to provide speedily for all its wants. He had shown much deference to the senators, coming from the depth of Campania not to miss being present at one of

[1] L. AUREL. VERUS AUG. ARMENIACUS IMP. II. TR. P. III. COS. II. Bust of Lucius Verus on a fine bronze medallion, a recent acquisition of the *Cabinet de France.*

[2] Letronne, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. x. p. 227. Houang-Ti, who reigned from 147 to 138, was consequently a contemporary of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius.

its deliberations, and not leaving the senate house until the consul had pronounced the ancient formula: "Conscript Fathers, we have nothing more to propose to you." Like all the emperors who exercised their duties in earnest, he strictly fulfilled his judicial work; he heard both sides, decided according to law, and above all equitably, without haste but also without delay; and in order that the judges should do as he did, he forced them to sit two hundred and thirty days in the year.[1]

Lucius Verus bearing a Figure of Victory. (Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, No. 123.)

Ancient society showed anger and hatred against the guilty; it took revenge by torturing them; it demanded not only punishments but suffering, a slow and cruel death. Marcus Aurelius caught a glimpse, by an instinct for mercy rather than from the fixed principle of social expediency, of the modern doctrine that punishment should be employed for the amendment of the criminals: "We ought," said he, "to seek by means of punishments to bring to light the good which often lies hidden in the depths of the criminal's heart." He reduced the penalties without showing weakness for the crime,[2]

[1] Capit., *M. Ant.*, 10.

[2] *Omnia crimina minore supplicio . . . puniret* (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 24); *egregia ratione humanitatis* (*Digest*, xlviii. 18, i. § 27). "That would not be humane," says he elsewhere (*ibid.*, xl. 5, 37).

but with great severity towards the informers convicted of calumny.[1] He recommends humanity: in doubtful cases the judge is to pronounce the mildest sentence;[2] he wishes, as Hadrian did,[3] that the governors, when an accusation comes before them, should inquire not only into the facts but also into the intention, because it is the determination to harm that constitutes criminality. A son kills his mother, but he is suspected of having acted under the influence of sudden mental aberration; Marcus Aurelius, when consulted, replies: "He will be sufficiently punished by his misfortune. Yet, for his own security and that of others, let him be given in charge of his friends in his own house. The guardians of lunatics ought to prevent these unfortunate persons from doing harm to themselves or others. If this should take place, it is their keepers who should be punished."[4] He used to say, moreover: "We ought not to be enraged against evil-doers; on the contrary, they must be taken care of and patiently borne with. If it be possible, reform them; in the contrary case, remember that benevolence is for the purpose of being exercised towards them."[5]

Hadrian had divided the administration of Italy between four consulars, Marcus Aurelius replaced these by *juridici*, whose intervention restrained the municipal jurisdiction, and he admitted prætors to this office in order to enlarge the area of choice.[6] He developed the institution of chief magistrates, which originated under Trajan: "Many cities," says his biographer, "had them on his appointment;" and to raise their dignity he often selected them from the senatorial order. These chief magistrates enjoyed

[1] Tertullian, *Apol.*, 5; Euseb., *Hist. eccles.*, v. 5.

[2] . . . . *Humanior sententia a prætore eligenda est. Hoc ex D. Marci rescripto colligi potest.* This became a principle of the jurisconsults, which is to be found in the fragments of Paulus, Ulpian, Gaius, Marcellus, etc. *Digest*, xxviii. 5, 84; xxxiv. 5, 10, § 1; l. 17, 56: *Semper in dubiis benigniora præferenda sunt*, etc.

[3] *Divus Hadrianus hæc rescripsit: in maleficiis voluntas spectatur, non exitus* (*Digest*, xlviii. 8, 14. Cf. *ibid.*, i. § 3; xlviii. 19, 16, § 8; l. 17, 79, and *Code*, ix. 16, 1).

[4] *Digest*, i. 18, fr. 14.

[5] *Medit.*, ix. 3 and 11.

[6] In an inscription from Ariminum (Orelli, No. 3,177), the *juridicus* of Flaminia and Umbria is praised *ob eximiam moderationem et in sterilitate annonæ laboriosam fidem et industriam ut et civibus annona superesset et vicinis civitatibus subveniretur;* the same thing at Concordia. The *juridici* then were not solely judges, but in case of need were administrators, like our ancient [French] parliaments. Moreover, the Romans did not understand what we call the separation of powers.

in ancient Italy, for the administration of finance, the part filled by the *podestas* of Italy during the Middle Ages for judicial purposes. At both periods the cities hoped to escape disorder only by the intervention of strangers to the city; but in the one the citizens preserved their autonomy because they elected the *podesta;*

Marcus Aurelius. (Bust in the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 38.)

in the other they lost it because the prince nominated the *curator.*[1] Some decurions already gave way under the burden of their municipal honours; he forbade intrusting these offices to such as were unable to bear them without harm to themselves, and he prohibited that others should be forced to sell corn to their fellow-citizens

[1] After Marcus Aurelius the greater part of these chief magistrates were taken from the equestrian order, which tends to show that their number increased; *see infra,* cap. lxxxiii. § 2.

below the market value.[1] He established around Rome a customs boundary, which Aurelian afterwards changed into a line of fortifications.[2]

To assure the fact of citizenship Marcus Aurelius ordered that all free-born children should in thirty days be registered at Rome at the office of the prefects of the treasury of Saturn; in the provinces, at the public registrars: these are our civil registers; and in order to give greater guarantee to minors for their property he created a prætor for wards, an office which France does not possess, but which Denmark, Norway, a part of Switzerland, and England have borrowed from the great Antonine. These guardians at first were accountable to the consuls, who often changed office and had a thousand other cares; a special administration, enlightened and vigilant, henceforward examined into their management. This same solicitude for the interest of families led him to extend the law so as to give guardians to adults under twenty-five years of age who were injuring their fortunes,[3] and he commenced the reconstitution of the natural family, the bonds of which were being so often severed by the facilities recognized as belonging to adoption, by issuing an edict that children of both sexes should be admitted to the inheritance of their mothers dying intestate, even should they have entered another family by adoption.[4]

The *alimentary* institution was further developed and became one of the most important charges of a civil character. It had hitherto been directed by simple knights or procurators. Marcus Aurelius, in order to show the importance which he attached to it, confided its supervision to prætorians or consulars, who took the title of *præfecti alimentorum.*[5]

The slaves, as well as the sons of the family, had their share in his just provisions. In order to secure a last act of applause from the people by providing for their pleasures, even after death, some citizens would insert a clause in their will that certain of

[1] *Digest*, l. 1, 6.

[2] Cf. de Rossi's *Plans of Rome.*

[3] *Statuit ut omnes adulti curatores acciperent, non redditis causis* (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 10).

[4] This is the senatus-consultum Orphitianum of the year 178. (*Instit.*, iii. 4.)

[5] *De alimentis publicis multa prudenter invenit* (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 11). He promulgated, respecting the institution for maintenance, an edict, the first words of which Fronto has preserved: *Florere inlibatam juventutem*, which is explained as showing the desire of seeing the cities of Italy filled with youth.

their slaves should be sold in order to fight the wild beasts; Marcus Aurelius nullified these testamentary clauses.[1] Perhaps also the decision came from him which gave the *ancilla* absolute liberty, protected by the condition *ne prostituatur*.[2] Lastly, he made the

Marcus Aurelius giving a Congiarium. (*Atlas du Bull. arch.*, vol. iv. pl. 4.)

funeral rites for poor citizens a public charge, and as the *colleges* or private societies had as their principal object to assure their members the last honours and a tomb, he authorized them to receive legacies.[3] This was to constitute them *civil persons*, capable of possessing property, capital, or slaves. So he found himself led

[1] *Digest*, xviii. 1, 42: . . . . *ut cum bestiis pugnarent.*
[2] Ulpian, in the *Digest*, ii. 4, 10, § 1.
[3] *Digest*, xxxiv. 5, 20.

to acknowledge also their right to set free, *manumittendi potestatem*.[1] These privileges were important, and contrary to the old spirit of Roman policy. He hoped to guard against any danger from the decision by laying it down that no one could be a member of two colleges at once,[2] which was intended to preserve the isolation of the corporations.

The father had the right of shattering the dearest affections of the son by obliging the latter to put away his wife; Marcus Aurelius suppressed this tyrannical power, or at least only permitted its exercise for very grave reasons.[3]

There is scarcely need to add that many imposts were reduced, much poverty relieved, and many disasters repaired. He helped Smyrna, Ephesus, Nicomedia, and Carthage, which had been destroyed by fires or earthquakes, to rise from their ruins, and remitted the arrears due to the treasury or the ærarium for the last forty-six years by provinces, cities, and individuals, and he allowed those who were condemned to the tortures of a cruel punishment to evade them by a voluntary death.[4]

We thus see after a general survey of the legislation of the Antonines, that in the second century of our era the imperial government—whether administered by a soldier, like Trajan, by a scholar, like Hadrian, or a sage, like Marcus Aurelius—can claim the honour of having made efforts to defend the weak and succour the unfortunate as generous as have ever been put forth at any period.

A pestilence of the most disastrous nature was raging in the East. Sprung from Ethiopia or India, it entered Egypt and Parthia. The story goes that the Romans had taken it at Seleucia, in a gold coffer stolen from a temple of Apollo, and from whence the terrible miasma escaped since sacrilegious hands had violated the secret of the god. Verus, returning to Italy with a part of the army of Syria, spread the evil on his passage; even at Rome, where many perished, the dead were removed by cartloads, and some said that the end of the world was near. Later historians,

[1] *Digest*, xl. 3, 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, xlvii. 22, 1.
[3] *Ex magna et justa causa* (Paulus, v. 6, § 15; *Digest*, xxiv. 2, 4; *Code*, v. 17, 5).
[4] Dion, lxxi. 32, and *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 8, § 1.

puzzled to find an explanation of the boldness and success of the barbarians in the following years, asserted that the Roman army had been well-nigh destroyed by this scourge.[1] To appease the anger of the gods, Marcus Aurelius had recourse to all the expiatory rites ordered by the ritual. There was one which popular passion called for and which he had the weakness to grant or to allow to be carried out: the Christians, whose faith Hadrian and his successor had either contemned or respected, were disquieted afresh. We

Stone commemorative of the Sacrifices offered by Marcus Aurelius to charm away the Pestilence.[2]

shall see that some, at Rome and in certain provinces, perished or were sent to the quarries.

Another form of worship, that of Serapis at Pelusium, was persecuted, doubtless owing to local circumstances which we do not know. It was not only the sovereign pontiff of the Empire who condemned religions foreign to the Græco-Roman polytheism, but also the man who, by a singular union of defects and opposite qualities, proved himself, without hypocrisy, in his meditations to be a philosopher most unembarrassed by the bonds of creed, and in

[1] *Ut . . . . maxima hominum pars, militum omnes fere copiæ languore defecerint* (Eutrop., viii. 12).

[2] Engraved stone (blood-coloured jasper) published in the *Hist. de l'Acad. des inscr. et de belles-lettres*, vol. i. p. 279. Marcus Aurelius as sovereign pontiff; on his veiled head a globe, symbol of his sovereign power; behind him an augur's staff; facing the emperor, Rome helmeted and Æsculapius with horns; under Aurelius, Hygeia or Health; lastly, the head of Faustina. The Sagittarius who occupies the centre marks the time of the sacrifices, offered in November or December.

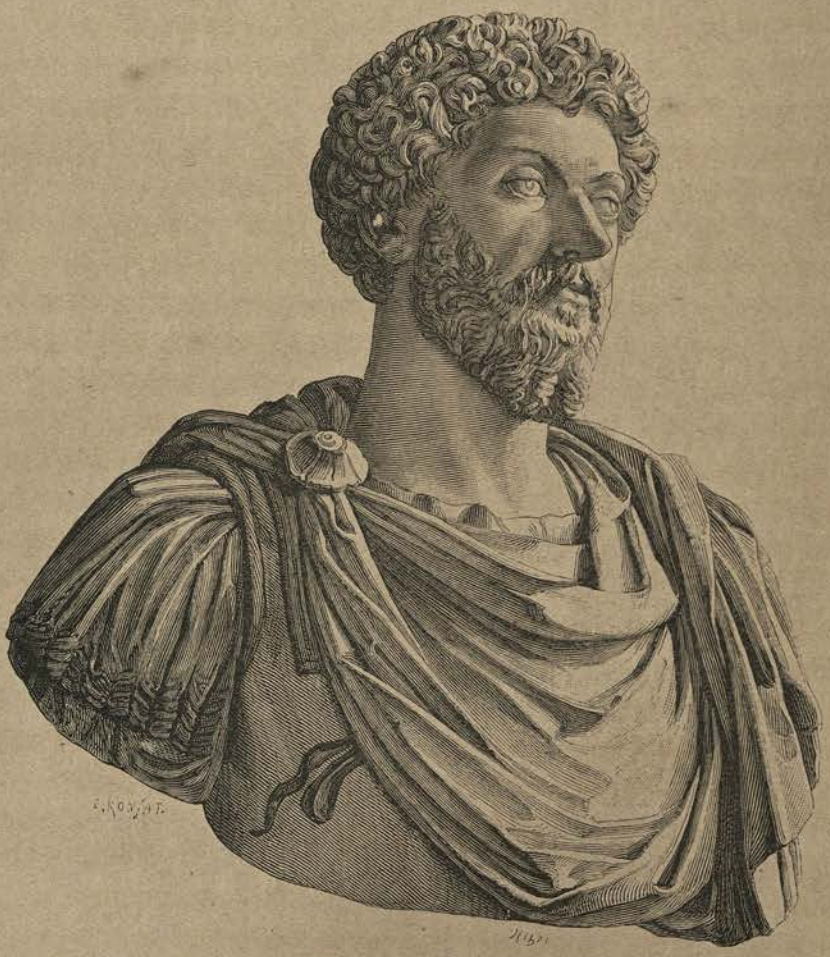
his public life the most superstitious of princes. No one wearied the gods as he did by most frequent sacrifices; a supplication from the victims was circulated: "To Marcus Cæsar, from the white oxen. It is all over with us if you return conqueror."

It does not appear that since the time when Tacitus drew a picture of Germany any great changes had taken place in the midst of those peoples; but this prolific race had increased in time of peace, and their greed had augmented with their strength. At the sight of the riches which the productive activity of the Romans amassed on the other side of the frontier, their hearts were filled with hate and envy. Those charming villas on the Danube and Rhine which they saw from their own wild bank seemed an insult to their straw huts. In their national poem, the *Nibelungen*, the object of their heroes' ardent pursuit, the conquest for whose sake the people are butchered and kings perish, is not the woman, the daughter of Jupiter and Leda, as in the case of the Greeks under the walls of Troy, nor a tomb, as in the case of the French before Jerusalem: but treasure! In the midst of their sterile lands and savage forests, that sensual race, greedy and poor, even then breathed the verses of Mignon about the lands where the golden apples grew, and which, during eighteen centuries, have excited their cupidity. In the time of the Cæsars, they, by their continual attacks, disturbed that civilized, rich, and peaceable Empire, which, under the Antonines, gave humanity a hundred years of peace; at the end, they succeeded in throwing down the colossus, and they precipitated the world into the sorrows and tears of the Middle Ages.

If ever invasion became impious it was when a prince reigned who was pre-eminently the fittest man for power, who looked upon his people as his family and would willingly have considered all his neighbours in the light of friends. Accustomed to subject the body to the soul, his passions to reason, Marcus Aurelius made virtue the sole good, vice the sole misfortune; all else was indifferent to him. Consequently pestilence, famine, earthquakes, a terrible war, were let loose against him without intimidating him, and Horace would have selected him as the sage who remained calm and fearless amid the crash of a falling world. In the midst of the gravest perils, in contact with the barbarians,

Marcus Aurelius was calmly composing the gospel of the pagan world.

The philosopher was obliged to turn soldier, but with what repugnance and what disdain for the glory of conquerors! "A spider," says he, "is proud of having taken a fly, and among



Marcus Aurelius. (Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.)

men one is proud of taking a hare, another a fish, a third wild boars and bears, a fourth the Sarmatians![1] In the eyes of the sage are they not all robbers?" He was obliged, nevertheless, to put on the cuirass as much as the professional warrior. During Trajan's reign the barbarians of the North had entered into relations with those of the East which were certainly still existing,

[1] x. 10.

and Vologeses doubtless counted upon a powerful diversion when he crossed the Euphrates. But from the banks of the Saale to those of the Tigris the route was long and difficult; the Germans allowed the Empire time to overwhelm the Parthians. Yet they completed their preparations: numerous spies informed them respecting the state of the Roman fortresses, and in the common markets open all along the frontier they purchased all that would

Council of German Chiefs. (Bas-relief of the Antonine Column.)

be serviceable for war.[1] They seem to have wished this time to come to an agreement and unite the largest number of their tribes, as in the days of Arminius and Marbod; better even than at that time, for these two chiefs were rivals and their peoples divided. To see with what a gathering the barbaric world moved along the Roman frontiers from the *agri decumates* to the Euxine, one would suppose that some grand council directed the national movement. That was probably true respecting the tribes of south

[1] The principal intention of Marcus Aurelius in the treaties that he concluded with these peoples was to establish an efficient frontier police, in forbidding any of them from frequenting the common markets, *ἵνα μὴ . . . . τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατασκέπτωνται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀγοράζωσιν* (Dion, lxxi. 11).

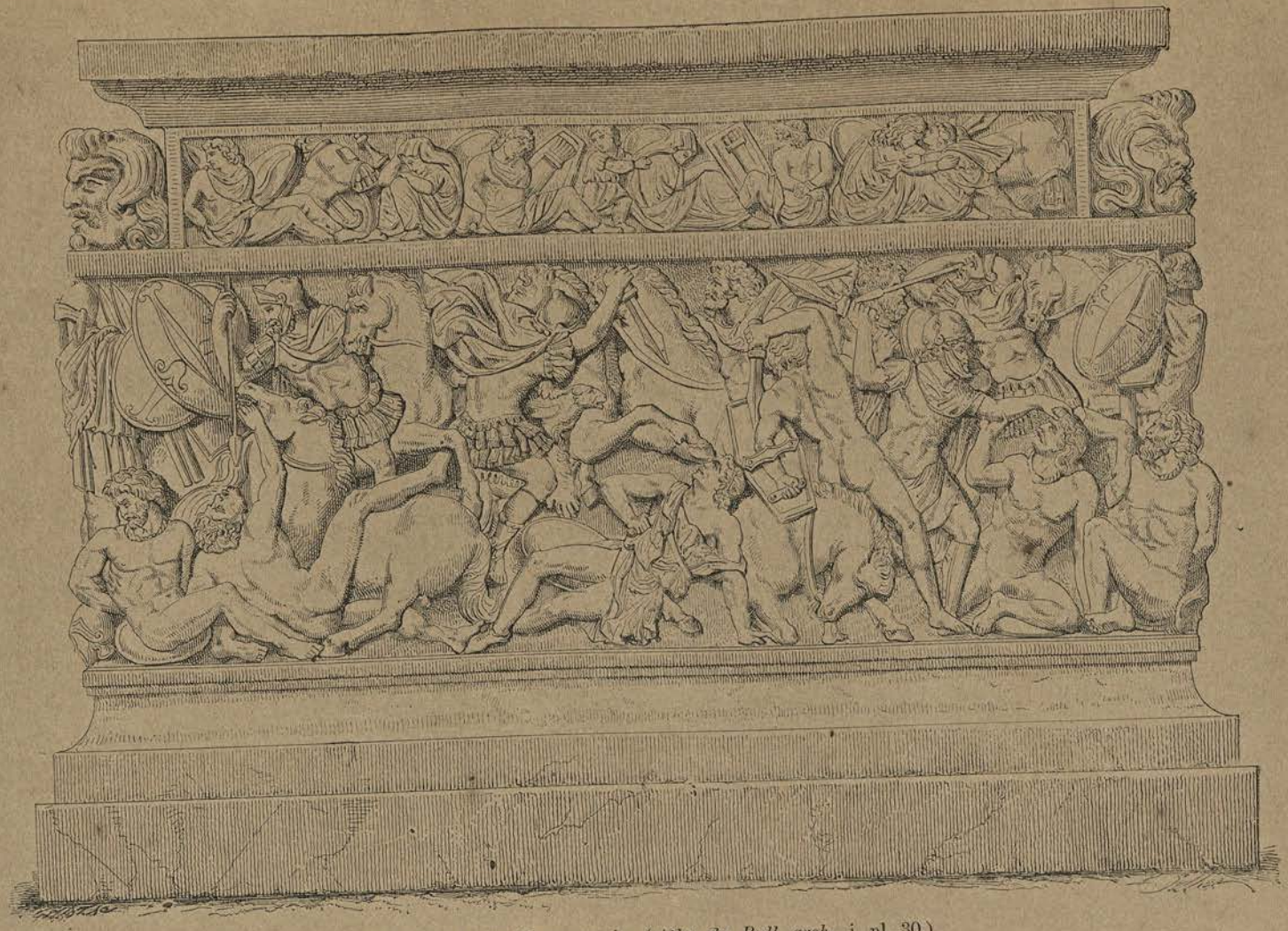
Germany,[1] the Marcomanni, Narisci, Hermunduri, Quadi, and Iazyges; but the Sarmatian and Scythian nations, the Victovales, Roxolani, Costoboci, Alani, and others besides, took action certainly for their own account and according to the inspiration of their chiefs. As for the people of the North they held themselves aloof (165).

An expression used by Capitolinus seems to intimate that in the interior of this barbarous crowd there were some oscillations of peoples which pressed some tribes on to the frontiers of the Empire, where they demanded, as did the Cimbri of Marius, that Rome should give them lands on the condition of taking part in any wars that it might require. Marcus Aurelius refused a form of assistance which might turn out very dangerous; then both petitioners and enemies together rushed upon the Empire, where they caused infinite misfortunes. Armies were destroyed; two prefects of the prætorians killed; a number of towns pillaged; provinces ravaged with fire and sword. "It was," say the writers of the time, "a new Punic war." Marcus Aurelius renounced for a short time his habitual moderation: he promised 500 pieces of gold for the head of a barbarian chief; double to him who should deliver up the chief alive.

The garrisons of Dacia, protected by the Carpathian mountains and the strong position of their fortified places, seem to have kept a bold face, although some barbarians had marched through the province and burnt the city of Alburnus (Verespatak), whither they had been drawn by the richness of its mines. Rhætia, Noricum, which their mountains and the skill of Pertinax[2] defended, received some incursions, but the enemy could hold no footing there. It was by the plains of Pannonia that the weight of the invasion passed in order to cross the Julian Alps, the least elevated of the chains of mountains which nature has given to Italy as a bulwark. The Marcomanni and their allies laid siege to Aquileia, the citadel of Rome on this side; they reached even as far as the Piave, where they sacked Opitergium (Oderzo).

[1] Thus the Quadi, Marcomanni, and the Iazyges were allies, for in the treaties made with them Marcus Aurelius forbade the Quadi, situated as they were between the two other tribes, having any relations with their neighbours (Dion, *ibid.*). According to Capitolinus (cap. 22) all the tribes from Illyricum to Gaul acted in concert.

[2] Capit., *Pertin.*, 2.



Battle with the Marcomanni. (*Atlas du Bull. arch.*, i. pl. 30.)

The Hellenic peninsula was menaced as well as the Italian, and "Barbaria" tried to lay hands on Athens and on Rome, in order to seize the riches heaped up for ages past in these two sanctuaries of the world's civilization. The Costoboci reached the centre of Greece, as far as Elatea, in Phocis, where Pausanias found the souvenir of their ravages and the statue of a victor at the Olympic games, who fell in fighting against them.[1] In the opposite direction outbreaks of the soldiers and populace agitated Egypt and the Mauri continued to ravage Spain. Of all the frontiers those of the Euphrates and the Rhine remained in peace, the latter guarded by the legions whom the Germans of the North did not disquiet, and the former defended by the vigilant and able Avidius Cassius.

The peril was great; Marcus Aurelius was not moved by it, and in the year 167 he crossed along with Verus the Po and the Adige at the head of such forces as he had been able to collect. The barbarians, whom this grand title of emperor still intimidated, retreated at his approach to put their captives and booty in security. The Quadi even, whose king had perished, consented, according to a custom which in their case dated from the time of Augustus, that their new chieftain should ask the emperor's consent before exercising his authority.

The two brothers seem to have returned to pass the winter (167–168) in the capital of the Empire, in order to prepare a considerable force. But, just as after the disaster of Varus, the citizens refused enlistment.[2] Even slaves and gladiators had to be armed—an example that the Republic had elsewhere given; the bandits of the Apennines, of Dalmatia, and Dardania to be attracted by the offer of gold; the *sagum* of the legionary to be put on soldiers acting as police to keep safe the roads in the provinces; and to pay everywhere those of the barbarians who felt disposed to sell their courage. We see in what a state were the military forces of the Empire thirty years after Hadrian. The organization given by Augustus to his army and kept up by his successors had its inevitable consequence:

[1] Pausanias, x. 34.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant.*, 23. There were, however, some levies of troops made in Italy (Wilmanns, 636). This is the only example that is known as regards the second century.

society, unaccustomed to arms, no longer furnished a single soldier, and even for its own salvation was incapable of a generous effort. When Marcus Aurelius removed the gladiators from Rome to the army little short of a popular outbreak took place. "He deprives

Lucius Verus. (Bust in the Capitol.)

us of our amusements," cried the crowd, "in order to compel us to be philosophers."[1]

Money had failed as well as men. Rather than increase the taxes, Marcus Aurelius first of all exhausted all the resources of the treasury balance; then during two months he put up to auction, in the Forum of Trajan, the statues, paintings, Murrhine cups, valuable furniture, a thousand curiosities of the imperial

[1] Capit., *ibid.*, 21.

palace, even the robes, the mantles woven of silk and gold belonging to the empresses. The army, recruited at the price of such great sacrifices, advanced beyond Aquileia, and rendered some security to Illyria, but did not dare or was unable to strike a decisive blow at the barbarians. On his return from the campaign without glory, Verus died of apoplexy in the very chariot which brought him back to Rome along with Marcus Aurelius (169).[1]

Jupiter causing Rain to fall on the Roman Army.[2]

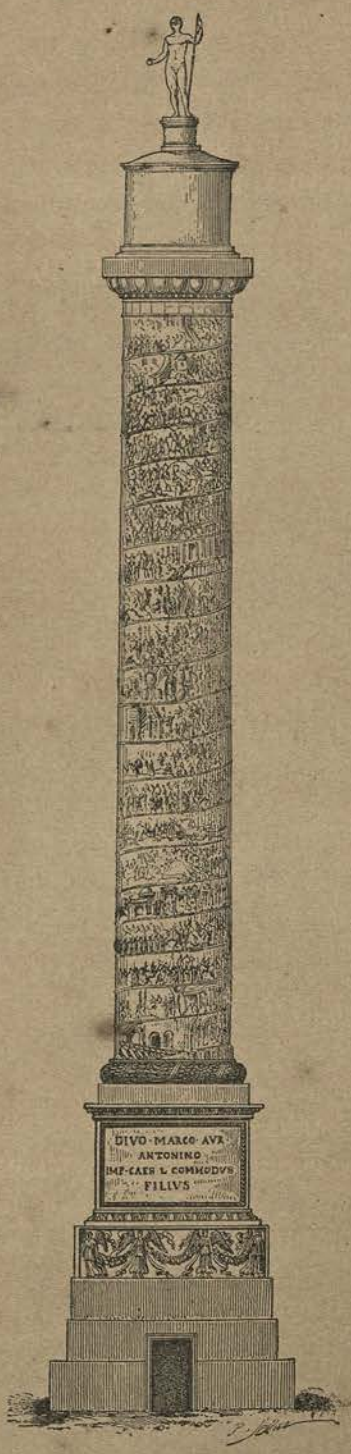
He had never given any very valuable co-operation to his brother and colleague, nor ever any serious cause of embarrassment.

We do not possess any details of this war, which for several years detained Marcus Aurelius at the banks of the Danube, usually in the fortified place called *Carnuntum*.[3] The emperor showed there no military ability; for if any grand operation had been undertaken some souvenir of it would have remained; we

[1] Dion or Xiphilinus makes him die of poison, and on reading them (lxxi. 2) one would be led to believe that Marcus Aurelius had got rid of his colleague, which is absurd. Marcus Aurelius reproached him only for being *remissior*. But it did not require much softness to merit such an epithet from a severe Stoic. (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 20.)

[2] Bellori, *la Colonne antonine*, pl. 15. *Jupiter Pluvius*, under the figure of an old man with wings, extends his long arms, from which the rain falls in torrents. The soldiers collect it in their helmets and bucklers, and some barbarians lie on the earth struck by the lightning.

[3] Hainburg, or Petronel in the neighbourhood of Hainburg.



Antonine Column, or the Column of Marcus Aurelius (after Canina).

hear only of murderous combats, sometimes on the frozen Danube,[1] which procured to a number of officers who fell before the enemy the honour of a statue in the Forum of Trajan.[2] One day when the Romans, surrounded by the Quadi, were in want of water and seemed likely to perish, an abundant rain fell on the camp, while the lightning striking the barbarian army threw it into disorder and dismay. This happens every summer's day in some corner of the world. But events, if natural, are not valued by the superstitious, who in all ages have desired to mix up divine providence with human affairs, forgetting that it has made us free to bear the responsibility for our follies. The Romans had also a god of armies, and the pagans did not doubt that Jupiter, influenced by Marcus Aurelius's prayers, who had already done the same service for Trajan, had worked the miracle. Tertullian claims it for the *Thundering* legion, which he represents as composed of Christians,[3] and the two legends still exist: the one in the traditions of the Church, the other sculptured on the Column of Antoninus, on which is still to be seen the lord of Olympus sending forth from the open

[1] Capit., *M. Ant.*, 22.

[2] Dion, lxxi. 7.

[3] The *legio XIIa Fulminata*, quartered in the East, was probably never in the country of the Quadi. Cf. Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, ii. No. 325, and Noël des Vergers, *Essai sur Marc Aurèle*, pp. 90–93. Pious frauds began early: letters of Marcus Aurelius were put in circulation attributing the safety of his army to the prayers of the Christians. (Euseb., *Hist. eccles.*, v. 5.) For the intervention of Jupiter in the Dacian war, see *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iv. p. 768.

height of heaven the rain which saves the legions and the thunderbolts which destroy the barbarians. It is the same with the legend as with the grain which the bird let drop on the snow-covered mountain: it rolls, grows larger and larger from the snow which it carries while descending, and reaches the valley a thundering mass: in its origin a very simple fact, later on a far-sounding prodigy.

Yet Marcus Aurelius must have imposed some check on the Germans, since they gave him the opportunity of going to establish order in the East, which had become disturbed by the revolt of Cassius.[1]

In his earlier years Cassius had already conspired against Antoninus, and he excited the suspicions even of Verus, who, during the war in Syria, had written to his brother: "Keep an eye on him; whatever we do displeases him. He contrives to collect friends and resources, and tries to make us ridiculous in the eyes of his soldiers by calling you an old woman who philosophizes and me a school-boy who frequents gaming houses." Marcus Aurelius replied: "Your complaints are neither worthy of an emperor nor of our government. If the gods destine the Empire for Cassius we shall not be able to get rid of him; for you know the saying of our great-grandfather:[2] 'No one has ever slain his successor.' Let heaven, on the contrary, abandon him, he will catch himself in his own snares, without our exhibiting cruelty in enticing him into them. Besides, how can one find a man guilty whom no one accuses and who is beloved by his soldiers? You know that in acts against the sovereign he even who is guilty of the crime always passes as innocent. Hadrian had a habit of repeating: 'What a miserable condition is that of princes! They are believed respecting plots from their enemies only after they have fallen victims to them.' The expression is Domitian's; but I have preferred attributing it to your grandfather because the best maxims lose their authority in coming from the mouth of tyrants. As to what you tell me about

[1] The treaty mentioned at page 189, note, was perhaps concluded at this time (175). Capitolinus (*M. Ant.*, 22) speaks of Marcomanni transferred to Italy and doubtless distributed as colonists among the landed proprietors; Dion (lxxi. 2), of Germans distributed among the armies and colonies; those who were settled near Ravenna tried to seize it in order to pillage it.

[2] Hadrian.

providing by Cassius's death for the security of my sons, I would rather that they should perish, if the good of the State requires that Cassius rather than Marcus Aurelius's children should live."

This is a noble letter; yet Verus was right, and the advice

Marcus Aurelius receiving the Homage of the Parthians.[1]

that he had given demanded something else than that easy resignation to the will of heaven.

Marcus Aurelius had invested Cassius with the superior command of the oriental provinces which faced the Parthian empire, from Mount Amanus to Pelusium, and a revolt having burst forth in Egypt, he authorized him to enter with his troops into that country, where this able general soon brought the insurgents to

[1] Bas-relief of the triumphal arch which was raised to Marcus Aurelius on the Flaminian Way. (Capitoline Museum.)

Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius. (On the Capitol, at Rome.)

their senses (170). Thus, while the emperors with difficulty defended the frontier of the Danube, and one of them, as if exhausted by the exertions imposed on his weakness, died on the way back to Rome, their lieutenant in the East humiliated the great king, conquered provinces, and subdued rebels. It seemed as if all the manliness of the Empire had, as it were, withdrawn into the camps of Cassius. These successes turned his head. He felt sure of his army, the people of Antioch and of Egypt, which his father had for a long time governed and the prefect of which was devoted to him; he said to himself that he was going to reproduce the history of Vespasian. On a report which he set circulating of the death of Marcus Aurelius, some soldiers proclaimed him emperor.

We have one of Cassius's letters addressed by him to his son-in-law, which can be regarded as his manifesto. "Marcus," he says, "is without doubt a good man; but in order to have his clemency praised, he lets persons live whose conduct he condemns. Where is that Cassius whose name I uselessly bear? Where is Cato the Censor? Where are the old manners? Marcus is engaged in philosophy; he discusses about clemency and the soul, about justice and injustice, and does not think of the Republic. Do you not see that, in order to restore to the State its ancient vigour, there would be needed edicts, sentences, swords? Woe to those men who consider themselves the proconsuls of the Roman people because the senate and Marcus have handed over provinces to their luxury and avidity! You know the prefect of the Prætorian Guard appointed by our philosopher; in the evening he was begging; the next day he was rich. How did that take place except by gnawing the entrails of the Republic and the provinces? They are rich! Well, the treasury is going to be replenished; and if the gods favour the good cause, the Cassiuses will restore its grandeur to the Republic."[1]

Some of these reproaches are just: Marcus Aurelius philosophized too much, and these rhetoricians, these philosophers to whom he gave the consular fasces, must have been curious statesmen if we judge by what has come down to us about the

[1] Dion, like Cassius, reproaches him with having tolerated malpractices, probably from want of vigilance.

most celebrated of them, Cornelius Fronto.[1] It is said that when setting forth for his last campaign, the emperor held, during three days in Rome, long conferences on the doctrines of the different schools. A good deal of philosophy in one's private life and on the eve of death is excellent, but other cares ought to occupy a prince on the commencement of an important war.

Marcus Aurelius wearing the Cuirass. (Statue in the Capitol.)

Cassius's letter asserts also a relaxation of authority which I pointed out in Antoninus's reign, and which probably continued under Marcus Aurelius; but at the same time it shows what an implacable and harsh government the descendant of "the tyrannicide" dreamt of setting up. The soldiers had no need to read this manifesto to form an idea of the severities which awaited them. Their attitude and that of the provinces obliged him to decree in advance the apotheosis of the man he wished to slay. This was a bad augury for the success of his enterprise. Cassius, obeyed in spite of his severity so long as he had continued in obedience, ceased to be so as soon as he departed from it. What he had done on behalf of discipline turned against him, and the soldiers, who had so long trembled before the legitimate lieutenant of the prince, massacred the general when a usurper, three months and six days after his prefect of the prætorium had invested him with the imperial insignia.[2]

[1] One of his editors, Niebuhr, says of his *Letters: Pravum et putidum genus!* and the last, Naber: *Verba venditat et voces, et præterea nihil* . . . .

[2] M. Waddington has found in the Hauran five inscriptions with the name Av. Cassius,

At the first news of this revolt the senators had proclaimed Cassius a public enemy and had confiscated his goods. This effort exhausted their courage, and many were imagining that they already heard the legions of Syria crossing the Alps, as had been done a century before by the Flavian army, when the news came that the head of the rebel had been brought to the emperor. On seeing it Marcus Aurelius felt distressed that the Republic had lost a good general and he the occasion of a gracious pardon. "But," it was said to him, "would Cassius if victor have spared you?" And he replied: "Our piety towards the gods and our conduct in regard to man assured us the victory." Then he passed in review all the emperors who had been slain, and proved that there was not one of them who had not deserved this destiny by his own fault; whereas Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, were not vanquished by the rebels, and that several, moreover, of the latter had perished, like Cassius, unknown to these princes and against their desire.

Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.[1]
(Bronze Medallion, Cohen, No. 369.)

In this way, by a strange and fortunate inconsistency which often arises, Marcus Aurelius, while fully accepting the fatality of the Stoic philosophy, maintained that by force of wisdom destiny could be controlled and rendered favourable.

Faustina, the prince's friends, the senate, demanded acts of severity;[2] he refused: a few centurions only were sacrificed for

dated 168, 169, 170, and 171. Now the duration of the functions of a legate in the consular provinces being five years, Cassius was in 172 in the last year of his command; then came his revolt. (*Inscr. de Syrie*, No. 2,221. See Borghesi, v. 437, No. 11.) Yet, according to an inscription of the *C. I. L.*, iii. No. 13, Marcus Aurelius would have arrived at Alexandria only in 176.

[1] COMMODUS CAES. GERM. ANTONINI AVG. GERM. FIL., around the bust of Commodus as a boy. On the reverse, M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXVII. and Marcus Aurelius in a cuirass. Bronze medal of the greatest rarity. *Cabinet de France.*

[2] Vulcatius Gallicanus gives, in the *Life* of Avidius Cassius, a letter of Faustina, the answer of Marcus Aurelius, and an extract from the message of the latter to the senate to stop

the sake of discipline. As regards Cassius's children, they kept the half of their father's property and did not forfeit the right of aspiring to public office. But Marcus Aurelius decided that no one for the future should govern a province in which he had been

Triumph of Marcus Aurelius. (Bas-relief on the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. From the Capitol Museum.)

born, and this interdiction has remained one of the rules of our ancient administrative law.

The emperor thought it necessary to re-establish order in the oriental provinces by his presence. He visited Antioch, which he punished for its fidelity to Cassius by prohibiting for a time any

proceedings against Cassius's family and accomplices; he adds that Commodus, after his father's death, caused the rebel's children and kinsmen to be burnt alive. Tillemont (ii. 641) believes that the letters of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina respecting Cassius are not genuine.

sort of spectacle or *fête;* Alexandria, which saw him without cour or guards, wearing the philosophers' cloak and living as they did; Athens especially, where he admired less the monuments of ar than those of thought, and where he sought out traces of Plat

Rome, of Superhuman size, as a Divinity gives the Globe of the World to Marcus Aurelius. (Bas-relief; *ibid.*)

and Socrates rather than those of Phidias or Pericles. There he instituted courses of lectures for teaching all branches of knowledge,[1] and received initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, the only institution of paganism which implied an examination of the conscience, rejected the guilty, and admitted only the innocent.[2]

On his return to Rome he there celebrated a triumph for

[1] Πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις . . . . ἐπὶ πάσης λόγου παιδείας (Dion, lxxi. 31).
[2] . . . . *Ut se innocentem probaret* (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 27).

successes gained over the Germans, gave the consulate to his son, as well as the tribunitian power, and shared with him the title of *imperator*. Eight times already had the legions from interested zeal decreed him this honour, which is better explained by the donatives with which it was followed than by the decisive victories which should have preceded it. Some medals, with no less veracity, promised perpetual peace to the Empire. They had hardly been struck when Marcus Aurelius was obliged to set out (August 5th, 178) for the frontiers of Pannonia, where the barbarians, checked, but not subdued, were always in commotion. He had exacted, by a treaty which seems to be of the year 175,[1] that the Marcomanni should withdraw five miles from the Danube, which they were to approach only on market days; that the Iazyges should not put a boat on the river; that the Quadi should set free their captives. And one can measure the extent of the ravages made by this people in the Empire by the numbers of their Roman prisoners: the Quadi had promised to deliver up 50,000, and the Iazyges restored double that number.[2] There was another danger: the great nation of the Goths had begun a movement from the north towards the south, and when it drew near the Empire, the tribes bordering the Roman frontier pressed

Commodus when a Boy. (Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.)

[1] He had taken, from the year 172, the title of Germanicus. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 73.)

[2] Dion, lxxi. 15-19. The Iazyges obtained then the liberty of trading with the Roxolani across Dacia, on the condition of asking every time for the authorization from the governor of this province. See above, p. 190. Capitolinus says that on account of these numerous wars, Marcus Aurelius gave to consulars, being magistrates regarded as more capable, governments hitherto intrusted to prætorians. A prætor, moreover, replaced the procurator of Rhætia and Noricum.

on this barrier so strongly as to threaten to break through it.[1] Rome would have needed a Trajan, who by vigorous blows would have made these barbarous hordes retrace their steps; but it had only a virtuous man, who knew how to bear adverse fortune but not how to compel it to change. After twenty months passed in the midst of labours, disquietude, and fatigues, which he forgot in order to converse with himself, he died at Vindobona (Vienna) March 17th, 180, at the age of fifty-nine.

All the historians reproach Marcus Aurelius for a shameful weakness in regard to his wife, and a culpable one in respect of his son. But the miserable retailers of anecdotes who in the third century wrote the history of the Cæsars, took pleasure in scandal and did not shrink from the absurd.[3] The misfortunes of the married have, unfortunately, at all times furnished an inexhaustible subject of mirth; those of princes have even a particular attractiveness, because they seem a set off against their grandeur and they bring them near to human troubles. In spite of the forbearance of some ancients in this respect, I do not believe in the expression attributed to Marcus Aurelius, who was urged to repudiate his wife and who was made to reply: "Then I must restore the dowry also;" he meant the Empire. But the Empire had not been Faustina's dowry, since Marcus Aurelius was Cæsar before marrying her. The crowd thinks vaguely as in a dream; as in a dream, a

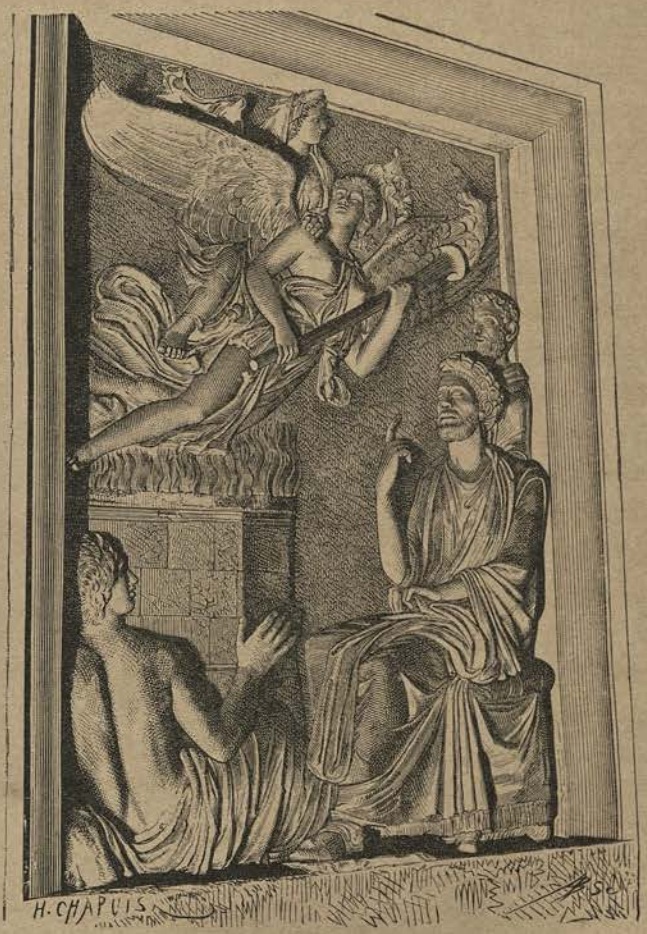
Faustina, the Mother of Camps.[2]

[1] To believe Pausanias, who wrote in Marcus Aurelius's reign, this prince subdued Germans and Sarmatians. This is read also in the inscription No. 861 of Orelli's collection. Herodianus, more exact, is satisfied with saying: "He had conquered a part of these tribes and treated with the others; the rest took refuge in their forests. His presence kept them there and prevented them from undertaking anything."

[2] On the obverse, the head of Faustina the younger; on the reverse, the inscription MATRI CASTRORUM and Faustina seated, holding in one hand a globe surmounted by a phœnix and in the other a sceptre; before her three ensigns. Large bronze, Cohen, No. 194.

[3] L. Vulcatius Gallicanus (*Avid. Cass.*, 9) apprises us that the writer who was the principal source for the *Scriptores Hist. Aug.*, Marius Maximus, had sought to defame Faustina, *infamari eam cupiens.* Capitolinus simply says (*M. Ant.*, 23): *De amatis pantomimis ab uxore fuit sermo; sed hæc omnia per epistolas suas purgavit.*

mere rumour sufficed to give a new direction to thoughts which the will does not control. Thus the imagination of the crowd and that of writers who follow it take a mere expression to make up a whole story. Commodus, Faustina's son, having been less a



Apotheosis of Faustina, Wife of Marcus Aurelius. (Museum of the Capitol.)

prince than a gladiator, was supposed to be the son of a hero of the arena; hence the story of his birth, which can only be told in Latin, but to which the bust and medals give the lie by his likeness to Marcus Aurelius.[1] With all his virtues, the emperor had one dangerous defect: he was tedious. Did this defect produce

[1] This likeness is attested by Fronto. "I have seen thy sons," he wrote to the emperor, ... *tam simili facie tibi ut nihil sit hoc simili similius*" (*ad M. Ant.*, i. 3). Capitolinus himself treats as popular fable the story of Commodus's birth (*talem fabellam vulgari sermone conterunt*) and that of the relations of Faustina with Verus, whom afterwards she would have

faithlessness? Such has sometimes been the case, but not always. The fair empress doubtless found that the austere personages with whom her husband was surrounded were only pedants, and the fine lady showed her disdain for the insignificant men whom he favoured. The latter took their revenge by underhand slanders, which after her death burst forth into calumnies which the follies and cruelties of Commodus seemed to verify: the mother paid the debts of the son. Dion, almost a contemporary, is silent, at least in what remains of his writings, on the subject of these fabrications. It is only in passing and by a word that he or his abbreviator makes allusion to "some faults;" and the letters of Faustina to Marcus Aurelius, preserved by Vulcatius Gallicanus, are those of an empress, a wife, and mother. She had accompanied her husband in the greater part of his expeditions, a fact which had obtained from the soldiers the title of "mother of the camps," and she was still along with him in the East when sickness carried her off at the foot of Mount Taurus. Those who had calumniated her when alive did so also when dead, by spreading about the absurd tale that she had urged on Cassius to revolt by the offer of her hand, and that she committed suicide from fear that her husband might discover this complicity.[1] Marcus Aurelius caused a temple to be built to her

Faustina, Wife of Marcus Aurelius. (Bust in the Naples Museum.)

poisoned. Faustina had had two sons before Commodus, who died young, and four or five daughters, the eldest of whom, Annia Lucilla, married first of all Verus, then Pompeianus. Three of Commodus's sisters survived him. (Lamprid., *Comm.*, 18; Herodian, i. 12.)

[1] The biographer of Avidius Cassius denies this complicity, which good sense rejects. See the letter of Faustina which he quotes.

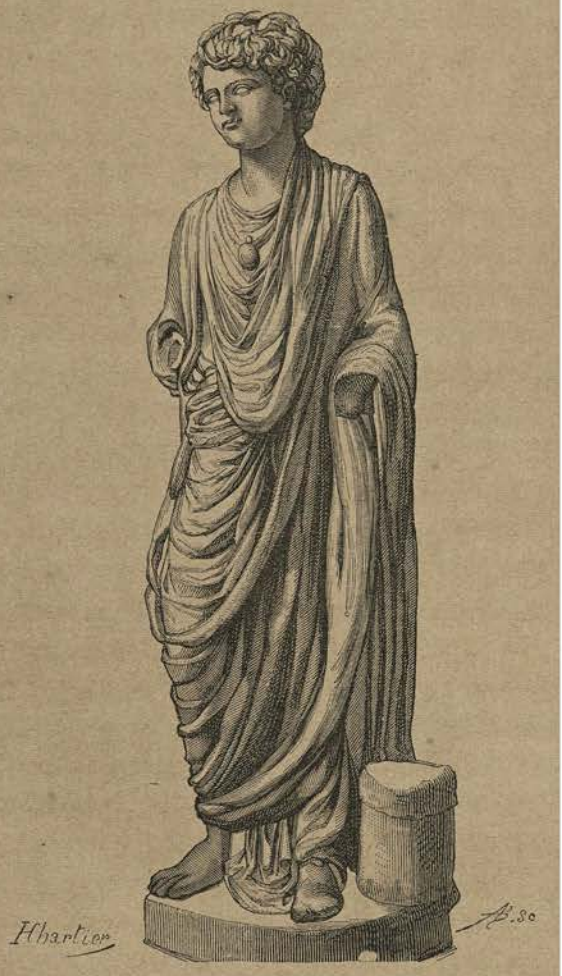
memory at the place where she died; at Rome, he desired that the empress should be represented on a bas-relief as being carried to heaven by a genius and himself following with a look of affection the apotheosis of "his dear Faustina." In the temple of Venus and of Rome he set up an altar, on which, on their wedding day, the young married couples offered a sacrifice; in the theatre her statue of gold was put in the place which she had usually occupied, and the grandest ladies of the Empire came, at the time of the games, and seated themselves round about it.[1] Would Marcus Aurelius have thus insulted public decorum if he had felt any doubts respecting the mother of his seven children, and would he have written about her what one reads in the *Meditations?* We are told all this was pretence. But what the *Veracious* has written he believed. To try and maintain that he knew nothing of such misconduct is to make him a sort of stage fool, and the enemies whom the empress's beauty, gifts, perhaps her pride, had raised up in the midst of a court of parvenus, would have easily found means of informing the deceived husband.[2]

With respect to his son, Marcus Aurelius is accused of having known, without daring to oppose them, the wicked inclinations of that perverse nature. At the death of his father, Commodus was only nineteen, and in spite of the stories told of his licentious wild youth, he had doubtless not yet exhibited the vices which have given him a place apart among tyrants. All the Antonines

[1] He wrote to Fronto (v. 25): "Every morning I pray to the gods for Faustina." To honour her memory, *novas puellas Faustinianas instituit.* (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 26.) See vol. iv. p. 790, n. 4. A bas-relief of the Villa Albani represents Faustina in the midst of the young girls and giving them some corn, which the latter receive in a fold of their dress.

[2] On the question see a Memoir of M. Renan in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1867, pp. 203–215. Wieland has upheld the same view with a less amount of proofs, in his *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. xxiv. p. 378. Spon had, nearly two centuries ago, already invented the false fashion, clamorously revived in our days, of making the history of a person from the features of his face, in his dissertation on the *Utilité des médailles pour l'étude de la physionomie* (*Recherches curieuses d'antiquités, XXIVe dissert.*, p. 386; 1683). He says of the younger Faustina: "Abusing her husband's good nature, she gave herself up to a dissolute life. Her physiognomy makes it easy to recognize her disposition. She was pretty, had a sly look, and the appearance of a giddy woman whose head goes faster than her feet. She has even the air of a bird, and particularly of those singing birds who are engaged only in flying, singing, and sportiveness; for that small head, those small eyes, that little forward look, that long neck have sufficient likeness to a linnet." I should not be astonished if from thence comes that expression of Ampère: "Her busts have always the look as though she wished to engage in conversation with the first comer . . . . and her head, a little bent, seems to be listening to a conversation." By such means a character for wit may perhaps be made, but not history.

succeeded to the Empire late in life; Commodus took possession of it about the age of Nero. To explain how he had lived like the latter there is no need to accuse Marcus Aurelius; the enjoyment of absolute power, at the age when the passions are burning, quite suffices to furnish a full explanation. But if he be not called to account for his son's cruelties, it *is* right to reproach him for having made these cruelties possible, by renouncing a system which, for the last eighty-three years, had prevailed in settling the succession to Empire.



Annius Verus, Son of M. Aurelius and Faustina.[1]

During its whole duration, the Empire oscillated between two opposite principles: royal *heredity*, which is always in the thought of the prince and often in the complaisance of his subjects, and popular *election*, which was in all the recollections, and in the spirit of the constitution, in the need, unceasingly appearing, of selecting a chief, since the imperial families had been powerless to transmit the inheritance from want of heirs. But the law and Roman customs furnished a means for conciliating these two opposite systems by the facilities furnished through adoption. No people has practised this institution to the same extent which Rome did: its great families were

[1] A statue found in the neighbourhood of Lanuvium (*Civita Lavinia*). Campana Museum, H. d'Escamps, *op. cit.*, No. 96.

continued only by calling into them strangers, who, by this legal affiliation, secured all the rights attached to natural sonship. On the other hand, the emperor represented the people, who continued in theory the true sovereign; besides, in virtue of the professed original delegation which had been made to him, and which, on the accession of each prince the *lex Regia* seemed to renew, the perpetual tribune legally exercised all the powers of the public assembly. The result therefore was that the choice of the future emperor, although decided by one, seemed to be an indirect election by the people. The confirmation given afterwards by the senate and armies was the assent of the nobility and of those who were regarded, much more than the Roman populace, as the real Roman people. Such was the constitutional law of the Empire, and thanks to the religious respect paid by the Romans to formulas and appearances, a few words pronounced according to the ritual and old usages sufficed to give the force of law to what was really in fact only the law of force.

With these private and public manners quite peculiar to imperial Rome, with this ease with which the prince could choose how and when he wished the son and heir whom it pleased him to select, the emperors had the means of always securing suitable chiefs for the Empire. In this way were selected, for the happiness of the world, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus. Two princes, Galba and Hadrian, had even given the reason for this system,[1] which had just shown its capabilities; it had already lasted a sufficient time to cause to be accepted as State law what had been not only the law of families, but also, in fact, for two centuries, the law of the Empire. Out of seventeen emperors, only two are to be found, viz., Titus and Domitian, who were the natural heirs of their predecessor. If then Marcus Aurelius had possessed a firm political mind, he would have "sacrificed," as Augustus used to express it, "his paternal affections to the public good,"[2] and would have bequeathed his power to some well-tried

[1] See Tac., *Hist.*, i. 16, *et supra*, p. 137.

[2] Augustus, who was himself the *adopted son* of Cæsar, had arranged for the accession of his son-in-law, the great Agrippa, at the expense of his grandchildren, and in adopting Tiberius to the detriment of his legal heir, Agrippa Posthumus, he had obliged Livia's son to adopt Germanicus while Tiberius himself had a son of man's estate. In his turn Tiberius left

consular. Quite close to him was a senator who had twice been consul and commander of an army, his son-in-law, Claudius Pompeianus; in the *Cæsars* Julian reproaches him for not having chosen this man of action and of good deliberative capacity. "Pompeianus," says he, "would have governed well." The system of adoption would have been strengthened by this fresh example of a free choice; and the Empire would perhaps have handed down to modern Europe a principle of government superior to that of heredity. But by the strangest inconsistency, the philosopher who to govern himself regarded the world from so lofty a position, had no wish to look outside his own house for a governor of 80,000,000 of men; and the sage in whose eyes all privileges were obliterated, thought that his son, by being born in swaddling clothes of purple, had found there the sceptre of the universe. This error threw back into the hazards of royal births and barrack riots a society which, no longer possessing for its defence those precautionary institutions whose elastic bonds hold together without wounding, began once more to live from hand to mouth, according as fortune put a wise man or a fool at its head. Severus will do for Caracalla what Marcus Aurelius did for his son Commodus; the Antonines will be replaced by the Thirty Tyrants, and a bad plan of succession will increase the causes of ruin, which will shortly be developed in the heart of that monarchy lately so strong and prosperous.

III.—Stoics and Christians.

Another fault weighs on his memory—the persecution of the Christians. Then took place the first great collision between Christianity and the Empire. We cannot omit this blood-stained page of his rule, for there is contained in it an historic problem which often meets us, which will continually recur, and which forms, far more than battles, the dramatic grandeur of history.

the power, not to his own blood relations, but to Caligula. Claudius, by the adoption of Nero, disinherited his son Britannicus. Finally the adoption of Clodius (Cicero, *pro Domo*, 13) proves that, from the time of Cicero, the ancient conditions of adoption were, according to circumstances, observed or put on one side.

War, which broke down the confined area of the Roman city, had also shattered the narrow boundary of systems; thought had grown as had the State. Metaphysics had gained little by this progress. Turned aside by the practical tendencies of their genius from the quibbles on which the subtle mind of the Greeks was led astray, the Romans had put aside theoretical discussions to reach direct individual and social consequences. Their philosophers had been simply moralists; and even the latter with characteristics of their own. A peace of two centuries' duration, such as the world had never known, had softened the wild passions which perpetual wars had aroused, and had opened the source, till then closed, of kindly feelings one to another. The morality of Zeno and Cleanthes, which aimed less at regulating human nature than at subduing it by pride of soul and insensibility of body, by degrees lost its rudeness. The spirit of charity softened it; it grew warm with an expansive tenderness, and its scornful haughtiness became changed into a sympathetic mildness. The idea of humanity faintly seen in Greece grew into clearness, and it was an emperor who wrote: "The Athenian said, 'Oh, beloved city of Cecrops!' And thou, canst thou not say of the world, 'Oh, beloved city of God!'"[1] This thought of Marcus Aurelius extends even beyond humanity, it embraces the whole of nature and God. The world is to him a divine *cosmos:* "O world, whatever suits thee is agreeable to me! O nature, whatever thy seasons bring me is a fruit ever ripe!" etc. A new moral conception was therefore added to the treasury of benevolent ideas of which man was in possession.

The older Stoicism had only the two negative principles, *sustine et abstine*, bear and forbear; the new had found a third, the principle of action necessary to make the two others fruitful: *adjuva*, love your fellow-creatures and help them. By this motto the Stoics returned into the society whence their proud virtue had driven them out.

But if humanity became one large family it was needful, by a natural order, to regard men as brethren and equals, who, having the same blood, had a right to the same esteem. In Nero's time

[1] Marcus Aurelius, iv. 23.

Seneca wrote: "All men are noble, even the slave; all are brethren, for they are all sons of God."[1]

At the same time being no longer deceived by a belief in gods of wood and stone, inert representatives of the blind forces of nature, the sages of paganism, modified Stoics or followers of the new Platonism, endeavoured to penetrate the secrets of the invisible world.

Thus from Zeno to Marcus Aurelius philosophy had not ceased to develop ideas of humanity, of mutual goodwill, of moral equality; it ended by reaching the thought of divine Providence, which was for the imperial philosopher what it ought to be for all, the necessary agreement between cause and effect: "Go straight," said he, "*according to law*, and follow God, who is the guide and end of thy way." Cleanthes had already sung in a magnificent hymn of *the law* common to all existences.[2] Philosophy, which had first of all been a cry of revolt, was become now the sense of duty, for that which then formed its dominant idea was submission to that law which every one can discover by a persevering examination of himself.

If the apologists of the second century and so many doctors found Christians existing before Christ,[3] no one in heart was so much so as Marcus Aurelius, for never has a man carried further the desire for inner perfection and the love of humanity. Consequently, he remains the very loftiest expression of that purified Stoicism which bordered on Christianity without entering its territory or taking anything from it. After his death there were found in a casket ten bundles of tablets, intended for his own eye, without plan or order, as the thought occurred day by day; which no eye had seen, which perhaps no one ought to see; and this dialogue with his soul, these solitary meditations have formed a work of sublime morality. In his view the virtuous man is "a priest" of the god within, that is to say, of conscience. "May the god who is in thee," he says, addressing himself, "govern a man truly a man, a citizen, a Roman, an emperor." But this

[1] *Omnes . . . . a diis sunt* (*Ep.*, 44) . . . . *Jure naturali omnes liberi nascuntur* (Ulp. in *Digest*, I. i. 4).

[2] See above, vol. ii. p. 217.

[3] See above, p. 158.

Roman, this emperor, he wants him to be mild, compassionate, the friend of man. "Believe that men are thy brethren, and thou wilt love them." "Can you say, I have never done wrong to any one either in action or word? If you can you have fulfilled your task. In a short while you will be only dust and ashes; while awaiting the coming of that moment what should you do? Honour the gods and do good to men." But in what does the good consist? In acting according to right reason, ὀρθὸς λόγος, which is an emanation from the universal reason, and conformably to the divine will, which is sovereign justice. Moreover humanity commands us to love as our brethren those who have injured us; and one only act of vengeance is permitted, not to imitate those of whom we have cause to complain. It is not enough to do good, it must be done for its own sake, without any thought of a return. "You complain of having obliged an ungrateful man, and would have wished to be recompensed for your trouble, as if the eye asked for its wages because it sees, or the feet because they walk. The horse which has run, the dog which has hunted, the bee which has made its honey, the man who has done good, do not proclaim it to the world, but pass on to another action of the same nature, as the vine produces other grapes when the next season comes round." To abstain even from the thought of evil, by fashioning the soul to the divine likeness; to support wrongs with resignation; to love mankind; to sacrifice even the object accounted the dearest to the fulfilment of duty—all this is seen in Marcus Aurelius. And he believed that this manly religion of duty would suffice for humanity. The mistake of a noble mind into which it is glorious to have fallen, and which, thank God, still exists in the case of some heroic spirits! But when will it become the belief and the rule of the multitude?

This philosophy simplified life by making no reference to death; or, at least, in not being disquieted at what may be found beyond the tomb, it divested itself of interest on questions which have most troubled the human soul. At first it had extolled the reasonable exit, εὔλογος ἐξαγωγή, by which man gives back to nature the elements which she had lent him for a time; and we have seen, from Tiberius to Vespasian, a real epidemic of suicide. Marcus Aurelius, the man of law, condemns voluntary death as a

weakness: "He," says he, "who tears away his soul from the society of reasonable beings transgresses the *law;* the servant who runs away is a deserter." So he blames what he calls "the obstinacy of Christians seeking death with tragical ostentation." But he accepts the summons of nature "without transport, pride,

Marcus Aurelius reading the Petitions of the People: "Bear in mind that men are thy brethren." (Bas-relief from the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, Capitoline Museum.)

or disdain," since death is a necessary consequence of the *laws* of the world. "Many grains of incense," he says, "are destined to burn on the same altar; to let one drop into the flame sooner and the other later, where is the difference?" And again: "We should give up life like the ripe olive, while blessing the earth, its nurse, and giving thanks to the tree which has borne it." His virtue was not a bargain made with heaven, he had found in it

his reward, and he expected nothing from the gods; "the eternal silence of infinity" did not affright him.

In his *Meditations*, the method, that is to say, the persevering study of himself and the exquisite purity of sentiment are Marcus Aurelius's own, but the stock of ideas belongs to his age. It will suffice to read the first chapters, in which he acknowledges to each of his masters, his relatives and friends, what he has received from them. By the doctrine of the λόγος, which unites man to God and men to one another, the new Stoics had asserted the principle, the basis of human society and of the divine commonwealth, that we ought to honour the divine spirit that is within us by moral purity, and that which is in our fellow-creatures by charity. Now history has shown us these ideas leaving the school to permeate civil law, which they change, and even penetrating into the administration of it, which they modify. Jurisconsults, such as the world has not seen since, following one another uninterruptedly during two centuries, have transformed the old *Quiritary law*, first of all ameliorated by the *law of nations*, then by the *law of nature*, into that form of legislation which has been termed written reason, or, as Ulpian calls it, "the holiest civil wisdom." Celsus, a friend of Hadrian, defined law as "the knowledge of the good and the just;" and Justinian has placed at the head of his *Pandects* these three sentences of Ulpian: "The precepts of the law are to live honourably, to injure no one, to give to every one his due."[1] The law becomes a religion, that of justice, and the *prudentes* with pride call themselves its chief priests.[2] The spirit of equity, which the jurisconsults introduced into the law, entered also into government: imperial Rome shared her civil and political rights with those whom Republican Rome had termed the *foreigner* and the *enemy*, and we have seen how the Antonines alleviated the condition of women, sons, and slaves; gave assistance to the destitute children, a physician to the sick, funerals to those who were unable to pay for a pyre or a tomb.[3]

While Marcus Aurelius, in his tedious vigils in the country

[1] *Digest*, i. 10, with this definition of justice: *Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique tribuendi.*

[2] *Cujus merito quis nos sacerdotes appellet: justitiam namque colimus et boni et æqui notitiam profitemur* (Ulpian, in *Digest*, I. i. § 1).

[3] These ideas are developed in chapters lxxxii. § 4, and lxxxvii. § 2.

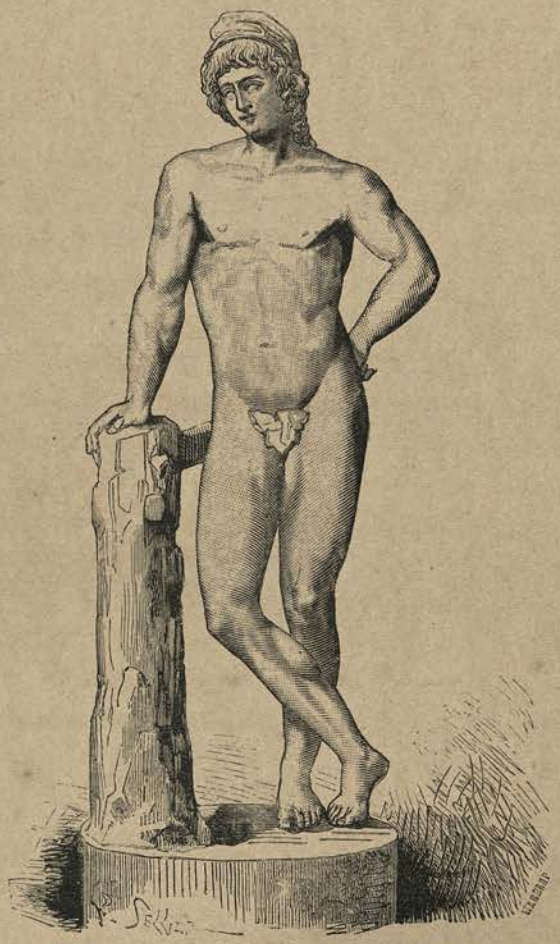
of the Quadi, was writing the work called the *Meditations*, of which a cardinal has said: "My spirit grows redder than my purple when regarding the virtues of this Gentile," other men in the heart of great cities, often in rags, were meeting together in the gloom also to search after the invisible world. Now these are the words to which they listened:[1] "If you love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you.—Ye know that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; but I say unto you that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment. Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar and then rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift.—Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also."

And again: "When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory, and before Him shall be gathered all nations; and He shall separate them one from another as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. And He shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left. Then shall the King say unto them on His right hand: Come ye blessed of my Father; inherit the kingdom prepared for you; for I was an hungered and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me. The righteous will say: Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered and fed Thee, or thirsty and gave Thee drink? And the King shall answer them: Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Thus heaven, which had been so long closed, now opened again;

[1] Justin, in his first *Apology* (15, 16) presented to Antoninus, had cited several of these sentences.

the soul, as Plato says, found wings again. The wisest of the pagans proudly limited their hopes to this life, the Gospel extends its to eternity. Our stay here, instead of being the end, is only a time of probation, a journey in a place of exile; riches and honours become a danger, poverty and suffering a promise, death a deliverance. Till then religion had been a worship of terror or of pleasure: it now appeared as the worship of love. It had spoken to the senses and the imagination, it spoke now to the heart. Is it to be wondered at that the poor, the infirm, the slaves, all the outcasts of pagan society, all those who, suffering in body or soul, needed love and hope, that women especially should welcome the Gospel, and that so many Christian communities should be so rapidly formed?



Atys.[1]

Consequently, apart from dogma, humanity at that time whispered the same words under gilded roofs and in the hut of the wretched, from the mouth of the prince and that of the slave. Those who then thought as did Marcus Aurelius, or who meditated on the *Manual* of Epictetus, which a saint later on made the rule of his monks,[2] were disposed to give heed with those who read the *Sermon on the Mount* or the *Parables* of Jesus. And yet between

[1] Marble statue in the Lansdowne Collection.

[2] S. Nilus and the Anchorites of Sinai. Nilus had simply substituted the name of S. Peter for that of Socrates, suppressed a thought about love and introduced the idea of the

them existed an abyss, or rather a still impenetrable mass of passions, interests and superstitions, which the old social system and its murderous laws protected.

The old worship, which nothing upheld, was crumbling to pieces. The oracles were silent, accused by the pagans themselves of deception. The temples remained deserted, and Lucian, who wrote in the time of Marcus Aurelius, pursued with impunity the gods with the lash of his pitiless satire. The former lords of Olympus inspired him with no more respect than they had inspired Seneca, and the new comers irritated him. "From whence have fallen into our midst," he puts into the mouth of Momus, "this Atys, this Corybas, this Sabazios? Who is this Median Mithra, with a tiara as head-dress? He does not understand Greek and does not know one's meaning when his health is proposed. The Scythians and the Getæ, seeing how easy it was to make immortals, imagined they had the right of inscribing on our registers their Zamolxis, a slave who is found here, I do not know why. As if we did not possess the Anubis with a dog's head and the bull of Memphis! Yet they have priests and utter oracles. And thou, great Jupiter, how dost thou like those ram's horns which they have fixed on thy brow?"[2]

Jupiter Ammon (with Ram's Horns).[1]

These are the feelings of the educated, and this contempt for the traditional polytheism led them, as it did Marcus Aurelius, Apuleius, and so many others, to the conception of one only God.[3] But in the ignorant crowd, the vacuum caused in their inmost souls by the destruction of the official religion was filled up by

immortality of the soul, omitted in the *Manual*. It was still read in the thirteenth century in the Benedictine convents.

[1] Engraved stone (cornelian of 15 millim. × 11) in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,433.

[2] Lucian, *The Assembly of the Gods*.

[3] On this idea, which shows itself everywhere, see Macrobius, *Saturn*, I. xvii. 19; S. Augustine, *Epist.*, 16, letter of Maximus of Medaura, etc.

foreign devotions; the East overflowed the West with its thousand superstitions. After a long eclipse the Greek genius had awakened, no longer clear, as in the best days of Hellenic civilization, but tainted with impure elements, disturbed, restless, seeking after the impossible, even the follies of mysticism. Before it the simple genius of Rome and the Transalpine nations retreated. The priests of Persia, Egypt, Syria, the astrologers, the necromancers, the sibyls, the prophets, those searchers into the future from whom the future always escapes, but who, at certain periods, got hold of the present, inundated the cities and attracted the crowd.[1] Apuleius, one of Marcus Aurelius's contemporaries, shows us, by the terror which magic inspired, the importance which the magicians at that time possessed; they professed to have eighty certain means of constraining destiny to reply to them.[2] Thus does it happen whenever a strong belief grows feeble or begins to totter: at the end of the Middle Ages the sorcerers began to multiply; at the end of modern times, the illuminated.

The Christians were the natural enemies of these men, who, being either sharp witted or themselves deceived, took advantage of the popular credulity, and also of the philosophers, who desired, as Epicurus and Lucretius had expressed it, "to free the world from the chains of superstition." Others ascribed to Christians every sort of crime: they used to eat children, an accusation which the Christians will repeat against the Jews in the Middle Ages; they celebrated by turns "the incestuous union of Œdipus and the abominable feast of Thyestes." Or, indeed, their hopes of heaven were transformed into entirely earthly appetites, and a social peril was seen in their doctrines which certainly existed, since the Church was able to triumph only by the upsetting of established order. And we do not speak of heresies which veiled from the eyes of pagans the figure of Christ under strange and sometimes monstrous additions. Thus, in the case of those who,

[1] Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.*, x. 94–5; vi. 510–555, and Suetonius, Tacitus, *passim*. Marquardt, *Handbuch der Röm. Alterth.*, vol. iv. pp. 99–130. Artemidorus, in Antoninus's time, had written a treatise on dreams, *Oneirocriticon*, and Marcus Aurelius (i. 17) believed that he received during his sleep revelations respecting some remedies which he afterwards employed.

[2] Apuleius was himself accused of magic. S. Justin tells us in his second *Apology* that the prophetic books of Histaspes and the Sibyls were prohibited, and that those who read them were punished with death. The trifles on which rested the accusation brought against

regarding from a distance and carelessly, confused everything, Christianity seemed a revolt, not only against the Empire, but also against all human law.

Read what is related by the author of a dialogue found in the works of Lucian. Might he not be called a terrified conservative falling into the midst of a democratic club?

"I was walking up High Street when I saw a lot of people who were talking in a low tone. I come near and see a little old man quite feeble, who, after much coughing and spitting, began to speak in a squeaky voice: 'Yes, he will abolish the arrears of taxes; he will pay public or private debts, and receive everybody without bothering himself about their social position,' and a thousand similar fooleries to which the crowd eagerly listened. An accomplice comes up, without hat or shoes and wearing a cloak in rags: 'I have seen,' he says, 'a man badly dressed and shaven face who came from the mountains. He has shown to me the name of the liberator written in signs: he will cover High Street with gold.' 'Ah!' I exclaimed at last, 'you produce on me the effect of having slept long and dreamt much; your debts will increase in place of diminishing, and he who reckons on much gold will lose his last farthing.' However, one of the bystanders persuades me to seek the place of meeting of these rascals. I climb to the top of a winding staircase and enter, not into the Hall of Menelaus, all glittering with gold, ivory, and the beauty of Helen, but into a wretched garret, where I see some pale fellows, dejected looking, bent towards the ground. As soon as they saw me, they ask me quite joyously what bad news I am bringing them! 'Why, everything is going well in the city,' I replied, 'and one feels delighted at it.' They, knitting their eyebrows and shaking their heads, said: 'No, no, the city is big with misfortunes.' Then like persons sure of what they say, they began to retail a thousand absurdities: that the world is going to change; that the city will be a prey to dissensions; that our armies will be conquered. Unable to contain myself I cried out: 'You wretched creatures! stop your wretched chatter, and

Apuleius show how easily these dangerous prosecutions were begun. They must have made many victims, not so many, however, as our trials for sorcery. In two years (1527–8), in the single city of Wurzburg, the bishop burnt a hundred and fifty-eight alleged sorcerers.

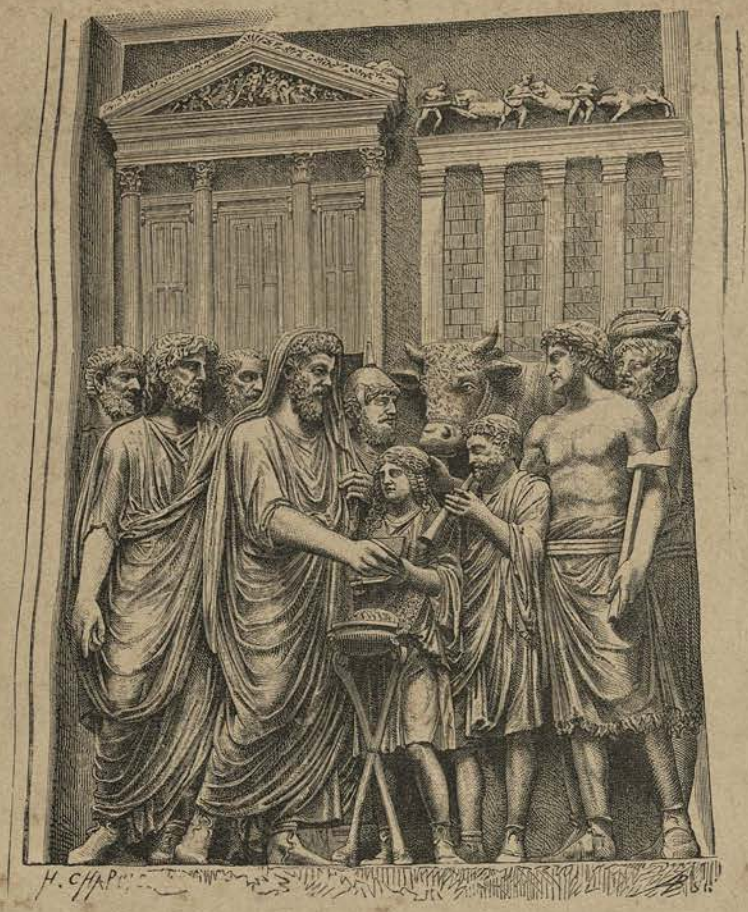
may the misfortunes into which you want to see your country plunged fall on your own heads.'"

Had Marcus Aurelius read the *Apologies* presented to his two predecessors and himself? We cannot say. If he knew them, the Λόγος of S. Justin ought to have given him pleasure. But, in agreement with the Christians in his *sentiments*, he was not at all so in *theological doctrine*, which has so often prevented kindred souls from understanding one another. With his stoical ideas respecting the soul of the world, of which the different gods were the external manifestation, he could not comprehend the Christian dogma of the Trinity nor this God made man in the womb of a virgin. And as he only counted upon, as his reward, the satisfaction secured by the fulfilment of duty, as he asked for nothing in the hopes of a future life, he reckoned as worthless the propagation among the vulgar of this belief in a glorious resurrection of the flesh and the spirit, which the wise had not discovered in the depth of their reason. These two doctrines, one of which sacrificed heaven to earth, and the other earth to heaven, were of necessity enemies. In the announcement of the kingdom of God, expected by the faithful, Marcus Aurelius saw, in addition, a menace to the Empire, and in the prophecy of the Sibyl on the approaching destruction of Rome, a sacrilegious impiety.[1] In fine, if he rejected the scandalous histories of Olympus, he religiously observed the rites in honour of these gods, which his soul had purified and his doctrine attached to the first cause. He was then not like Hadrian, a sceptic, and consequently a tolerant man; philosophy had made him a pagan of a peculiar sort—one who continued convinced and very devout;[2] moreover he was a prince, and the basis of his morality being the absolute submission of the individual to the laws of reason, the basis of his policy was the absolute submission of the individual to the laws of the State. So, when in the early days of his reign the populace, terrified by the famine and the inundations, rose up against the faithful and demanded their punishment to appease their gods, he left the prefect of Rome,

[1] This prophecy was current in Antoninus's time. Cf. Alexandre, *Orac. Sibyll.*, liv. viii. v. 73 *et seq.* It threatened "the three emperors" (Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and Verus) with the return of Nero, ὁ φυγὰς μητροκτόνος, that is to say, of Antichrist.

[2] Cf. Capit., *M. Ant.*, 13, and Amm. Marcellin., XXV. iv. 17.

Junius Rusticus, his old master, to apply the laws. Among the condemned was S. Justin, who seems to have gone to meet his death by the generous vehemence of his second *Apology*.[1] There was, however, no rescript of the prince, for Tertullian, who was



Marcus Aurelius sacrificing before the Temple of Jupiter.[2]

living in the time of Marcus Aurelius, asserts that he did not promulgate one; but some victims were struck by the particular edicts of certain governors—a thing which, says the evidence of S. Melito, had never yet been seen:[3] thus perished two bishops of proconsular Asia at Smyrna and Laodicea. Towards the end of this

[1] M. Renan (*l'Église chrétienne*, p. 491) places Justin's death under Antoninus, but with hesitation.

[2] Bas-relief from the arch of Marcus Aurelius. (Capitol.)

[3] Nevertheless, there is found in the *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 30, a rescript of Marcus Aurelius which condemns to banishment on an island those who upset persons' minds by superstitious

reign, in 177, many executions took place at Lyons, brought about by a popular outbreak. Eusebius has preserved a letter in which the Christians of that city relate to the brethren in Asia the distresses of the infant church. It is therefore a cotemporary document in which may be seen in action the violence of the people, the credulity of the judge, and the ardent faith which the hope of immortality furnished.

"First of all we were driven away from the baths, public places, and all the parts opened to the public; then we had to suffer outrages, blows, the violent acts of an infuriated multitude." That was the first act: the crowd enraged against men who, from the simple fact of being Christians, insult all that it believes and all that it loves, its religion and its pleasures. Persecution begins by an outbreak.

The second act is marked by the intervention of authority. Charged with the maintenance of peace in the city, the magistrate makes the Christians responsible for the disorder of which they have been the exciting cause. A tribune and his soldiers brought them to the forum;[1] on avowing that they are Christians the duumvirs apply Trajan's law to their case; they are seized and shut up in prison until the return of the governor. The latter, on his return, interrogates them at his high tribunal, near which is collected a crowd whom the soldiers with difficulty keep in order. Yet the course of procedure is slow, and its forms are observed. The public avowal of *Christianizing* is sufficient for condemnation, but the judge has heard other crimes mentioned, and wishes to know what they are and orders an inquiry.

In this terrible drama which always arises out of outbreaks produced by popular excitement, the excess of credulity equals the audacity of unscrupulous falsehood; everywhere and always passion and fear furnish to troubled imaginations accusations which they greedily accept. "They bring into court the pagan servants

practices. This rescript certainly had reference to the Christians. I should like to consider it a means furnished to judges for pronouncing against them some punishment other than death, and we know that a certain number of Christians were in fact sent into Sardinia. See, in vol. vi., the reign of Commodus. As regards Polycarp's martyrdom in the time of Aurelius, we have followed the calculations of M. Waddington. (See above, p. 164.)

[1] For the topography of Lyons, see vol. iv. pp. 52, 575, with the corresponding notes.

of these champions for Christ, who, from fear of tortures and the solicitations of the soldiers, are forced to confess that we commit all these abominations. When these calumnies are spread about amongst the public such anger arises against us that even our very friends share the fury of the governor, the soldiers, and the people."

Yet a Roman citizen, wealthy and of influence in the city, named Vettius Epagathus, stepped forth from the crowd and said to the governor: "I claim to defend these men, and I engage to prove that they have not committed any of the crimes brought against them." "Then you are yourself a Christian, since you wish to take their cause in hand?" "I am." He was immediately arrested and placed among the accused, indicted with being "the Christians' advocate."

More than ten of them, yielding to the threats, denied their faith, and promised to sacrifice to the gods; but the rest confounded their executioners by their calmness. A young slave, Blandina, weak and ailing, found strength in the very tortures. From morning till evening was she tortured; her body formed but one wound, her bones were as if broken, her joints torn apart; but one exclamation came from her: "I am a Christian; no evil is committed among us!" The exaltation arising from her faith made her bodily nature insensible to pain.

Tortures were useless: "the victims were loaded with chains, which served them for ornament, like the gold fringe to the robe of a young bride;" they were thrown into an infectious cell, where many of them perished. Pothinus was then ninety years old. "His soul," says Eusebius, "only remained in his body that it might render a last witness to the triumph of Christ. 'Which is the god of the Christians?' the judge asked him. 'You will know him when worthy of it,' he replied. He was led to prison in the midst of the insults of the crowd; he died there on the third day."

Four of the prisoners were first of all condemned: Attalus, being a citizen, to be beheaded; Sanctus and Maturus, as provincials, and Blandina, as being a slave, to be thrown to the wild beasts. The letter from the faithful of Lyons expresses with innocent grace this combination of all conditions. "The martyrs

offered God a crown of divers colours, in which all kinds of flowers were well assorted." A feast day had been expressly fixed for their execution. On its eve, the condemned took their last supper together in public, and the next day those who were destined for the beasts were led to the arena. Attalus, who could not be executed without the emperor's order, had been kept in prison. When the crowd saw that he was not given over to their pleasures, they demanded him with loud cries. He was brought in and only marched round the amphitheatre with this writing on his breast: "This is Attalus the Christian." The crowd roared with fury; it revenged itself on the other martyrs. The wild beasts would have killed them with one bite. They were not permitted to attack, but it was instead who could imagine some fresh torture, some forgotten punishment. Cries arising from all the seats of the amphitheatre excited the executioners. "Now for the wedges, the pincers, the plates of heated copper; lacerate, but don't kill!" When there remained no place on these poor bodies where the torture had not passed, they were placed on an iron chair made red-hot, then a sword-thrust put an end to their life. Blandina had seen all this from a stake in the midst of the amphitheatre to which she was fastened naked; the beasts were let loose at her, but they did not touch her, and the people, tired out, postponed her death to another festival. On this day

Jupiter Gaulois, found at Lyons. (Small Bronze Figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,929.)

there were no gladiators, the soldiers of Christ had satiated the ferocious pleasures of the multitude.

Persecution immediately bore its fruits; the other captives felt themselves strengthened and the apostates returned to their faith, calling for punishments to prove the sincerity of their return: "The living members of the Church had raised the dead to life." Marcus Aurelius, when consulted about the accused who were citizens, had replied that the law must take its course: to behead those who persisted and dismiss those who recanted. Lyons was about celebrating on August 1st the festival of all Gaul; the persecution was resumed and went on rapidly; there was need to be ready for the games.

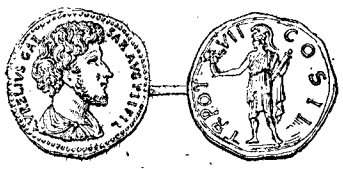
It is to the honour of human nature that injustice revolts it, exalts it, and produces that contagion of self-devotion which has produced martyrs to all great causes, sometimes even to bad ones. During the fresh examinations, a man was seen amongst the spectators who was touched by the courage of the victims and showed a pity for them which irritated the crowd. He was immediately denounced to the governor. "Who are you?" the latter asked him. "A Christian," he replied, and he went and sat down amongst the martyrs. The festival arrived. Eighteen confessors had already succumbed to their sufferings in the prison; two had perished in the amphitheatre, twenty-eight were reserved for death, some by the sword as being citizens, the rest by the wild beasts.

Two Greeks, come from a long distance to visit the Christian's common country, inaugurated the games, Attalus of Pergamus and Alexander of Phrygia. They submitted to all the customary tortures: Attalus on the red-hot chair, pointing to the smoke of his burnt flesh, which spread itself through the amphitheatre, simply said: "In truth, to do what you are doing is to devour men; but we do not eat them." To devour infants! That was the charge which had provoked the outbreak, followed by the trial and tortures.[1]

Blandina and Ponticus had been present at the shocking

[1] While false as regards the Christians, the accusation might be true respecting others. In all periods traffickers in the occult sciences professed to obtain the favour of the devil by sacrificing to him the most innocent creatures, *i.e.*, infants: an infant's blood was required for their magical operations. This took place even in Louis XIV.'s time: the Abbé Guibourg and la Voisin confessed having slain several. (*Archives de la Bastille*, vol. vi.)

spectacle. They were reserved for the last day of the festival. When they were led in, the crowd for a moment felt pity for them. They were so young! Ponticus was scarcely fifteen. "Swear by the gods," a thousand voices called out. Blandina strengthened her companion's courage, and he bore all the torments till he expired. As for her, "she met death as if going to a marriage feast." They tried everything against her. After being scourged, bitten by the wild beasts, placed in the red-hot chair, she was wrapped up in a net, and a furious bull let loose at her. "Thus," says Eusebius, "the blessed Blandina died the last, like a courageous mother who, after having sustained her children during the fight, sends them on in advance to the king, to announce the victory." What an overturning of ideas! what a revolution in the relations of society! Christian Lyons soon came to venerate and hold in honour the poor slave whom ancient society despised and crushed under its feet.



Aureus of Marcus Aurelius. (Emperor's Head. Reverse, Rome helmeted, holding Victory in her hand.)

The others condemned were all Romans: twelve men and as many women. This last figure shows with what success the new faith had spoken. They were decapitated near the altar of Augustus. Their bodies were given to the dogs or burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Rhone. It was desired that not a fragment should remain of them, in order to destroy, by this complete destruction of the body, the hope of the resurrection of the flesh. "Let us see now," said the pagans, "if they will rise again."[1]

The far-reaching report of this execution excited the zeal of some governors, that especially of the pro-consul of Africa, who sent to the torture Namphamo and his companions, the first African martyrs. We can also regard the Scillitanes, put to death July 17th, 180, as the victims of the detestable policy inaugurated by Marcus Aurelius.

When the victorious Church had conferred upon itself the

[1] The Christian community at Lyons must nevertheless have been few in number. We have many inscriptions of this city, and those which relate to Christians do not appear before the fourth century. The same is the case as regards Nimes.

sovereign power of deciding what is necessary to be believed and to be done, it, in turn, sent victims to the torture. Trajan and Marcus Aurelius punished those who refused to obey certain laws of the State; the inquisitors burned those who did not think as they did on heavenly things. The former believed they were protecting society; the latter considered themselves to be defending religion; both were deceived. Coming from a rude soldier like Trajan the mistake is not astonishing; it does surprise us as regards Marcus Aurelius, who ought to have comprehended that his duty as a philosopher and a man was to examine into these doctrines in order to test them, and to weigh these accusations in order to silence them. But he neither liked the books, the sciences, nor the history, which would have given him a virtue which they impart—tolerance, and he took delight only in pure speculation,[1] which, like a too generous wine, often blinds and inebriates. Every political fault brings after it its punishment; that society which laughed at the sufferings of the Christians is still under the malediction of the Church, which it does not wholly deserve; and the executions ordered or permitted by Marcus Aurelius have left a stain on the purest name in antiquity.

It is right to say also that history, led astray by this purity, has given too high a place to the emperor. In this reign of nineteen years we find neither new institutions,[2] great feats of war, nor an advantageous peace; simply a fine book. That is sufficient for the thinker, but too little for the chief of an empire. Let us place him then among those men to whom we owe the highest respect; but do not let us place him in the rank of those princes who have deserved best of their country. Plato said, and Marcus Aurelius repeats it: "Happy those peoples where the philosophers are kings, or where their kings philosophize!" Rather let each do his own work: the philosopher in the schools and the prince in affairs of state.

I should not like to conclude by appearing to throw too strong a shadow upon this fine character. There are two kinds of politicians: those who are especially pre-occupied with the useful and those who think more of the honourable. The former guide men

[1] Cf. *Pensées*, i. 17.

[2] *Jus autem magis vetus restituit quam novum instituit* (Capit., *M. Ant.*, 11).

by their interests; the latter try to lay hold of them and lead them by the exalted qualities of their nature. Marcus Aurelius belongs to these latter, who often fail, but they always deserve honour. So, when, on the Piazza di Capitole, we contemplate his equestrian statue, the magnificent life-like work of an unknown artist, we feel it fitting that the figure of the prince who was, by his lofty morality, the purest expression of imperial authority, should alone remain untouched and standing above the ruins of the city of the Cæsars.

Lucilla, Daughter of Marcus Aurelius. (Bronze Coin.)

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